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ABSTRACT

This social studies curriculum guide broadly examines the relationships between the media and the military during wartime. It is divided into three units and includes 25 activities. The first unit, "Media and Conflict," begins with an examination of the historical context of the U.S. press and media and international conflicts. The second unit focuses on the Gulf War as a case study. The third unit examines the media in the Gulf War. Detailed student handouts and activity instructions are provided along with an extensive teacher's guide. (Contains 56 resources.) (RJC)

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International Conflict and the Media

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INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND THE MEDIA

A Curriculum Guide

by Andrew F. Smith

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International Conflict and the Media

INTRODUCTION

Implementing curriculum mandates in global and international education has created problems for many teachers. Most global studies programs focus either on the study of geographical areas or on global issues that transcend national boundaries. Unfortunately, most social studies teachers were trained to teach U.S. History or Western Civilization. Many teachers have little background in these new areas and issues that they are required to teach. Even if academic preparation included study of the non-western world or the study of global themes, the world that teachers studied in college no longer exists. As one observer said, "The world isn't what it use to be any more."

As teachers have little time to conduct the research and write lesson plans under the strain of full teaching loads, teachers have come to rely on textbooks for their primary classroom information about the world. Yet, few social studies textbooks adequately cover international issues or conflicts. Due to the manner in which textbooks are written, they are generally outdated even before they are published. Recent international conflicts are simply not in the textbooks.

Studies have shown that most Americans do not always understand international conflicts. We have little understanding of the places where they occur, what the real issues are, or what importance these conflicts may hold for America. Studies have also demonstrated that Americans in general, and students in particular, acquire most of their knowledge about the world and international conflicts from the mass media.

Unfortunately, television, radio, newspapers, and news magazines often present skewed images of international conflicts. For instance, electronic media have just a few minutes of air time to present complex issues and topics. At times reporters may have only limited access to information. Inadequate presentations can be due to the lack of clarity in the international conflict itself. Day-by-day coverage of complex events often misses the broader context simply because of the limits of the press and media. The placement of stories and visuals associated with the conflict is known to influence readers' and viewers' opinions. One-sided coverage of a particular conflict, often necessitated due to time or circumstances, can shade, alter or misrepresent. Aware of the importance of mass media and the press, participants in international conflicts often attempt to manipulate news coverage. Unseen forces and factors shape student's and citizen's knowledge and understanding of particular international conflicts.

Most Americans do not realize that the mass media and the press affect our opinions and knowledge about the world. Nor do Americans know and understand the interrelationships--both positive and negative--that media and the press have with international conflicts. Understanding the interactions between mass media and international conflicts is crucial for America's future. Wise foreign policy choices must rest upon the bedrock of citizen knowledge of complex and often intractable conflicts.

There is no possible way the nation's formal education system can prepare our youth to understand every international conflict which the nation or the world may face in the future. As today's students will likely learn about international conflicts through the press and media, schools need to expose students to the strengths and weaknesses of different media. Schools also need to develop frameworks that may be useful in examining future conflicts. Schools can create environments in which students

become active learners able to analyze, understand and challenge the ways in which their opinions may be manipulated by the news media.

This Curriculum Guide broadly examines the relationships between the media and the military during wartime. It is divided into three units. The first unit, Media and Conflict, begins with an examination of the historical context of the American press and media and international conflicts. The relationships between media and international conflicts are manifold, and include news coverage about conflicts, relationships among the press and the government, including a) censorship; b) the influence of the media upon public opinion; and c) media and press influence upon conflicts prior to the Gulf War. This unit is self-contained and could be used independently of the other two units. It might be used in an American History or a Journalism class, in addition as a module in a conflict unit in a Global Studies course.

The second unit focuses on the Gulf War (1990-91) as a case study. The reasons for selecting the Gulf War are several. First, an adequate base of information and opinion already has been published. Second, because of its recent occurrence, students and teachers may have some general familiarity with the events connected with the conflict. Third, it is an excellent example to examine the role of the media in international conflicts. And finally, the conflicts that caused the Gulf War have not been resolved, and these issues will likely continue to erupt in the foreseeable future. This unit is self-contained and could be used independently of the other two units. It might be considered as a case study in a World History course, a unit on the Middle East in an area studies course, or a module on conflict in a Global Studies course.

The third unit examines the media in the Gulf War. It illustrates many of the same issues raised in the first and second units and covers several new issues that emerged during the conflict. This unit presupposes some knowledge and understanding of the material covered in the preceding two units. It should not be used without some supporting material from those units.

International Conflict and the Media

ACTIVITY 1: The Press and Media in America

Introduction

This activity introduces the topic of the press and media in America today. Students have some knowledge about channels of communications and it is important to start with their knowledge. This brainstorming activity helps launch the unit by assisting students to understand the general significance of the press and media today.

Student Objectives

- To introduce the topic and discuss the importance of the press and media in America today.
- To understand some of the sources of international news.
- To understand how different news sources cover international events.

Time

1 class period

Materials

24 sheets of poster paper and markers, masking tape

Recommended Procedures

1. Divide the students into six groups. Give each group four sheets of poster paper and a marker. Tell them that they are going to do some brainstorming in their group, and that the purpose of brainstorming is to elicit as many responses as possible in a short period of time. Remind them that they should not criticize other students or their comments. Creativity is encouraged. There will be plenty of time in this unit to reconsider and review their answers. Teachers should not be afraid of silence.
2. Ask each group to brainstorm: **What functions do newspapers perform?** Have them write their responses on one sheet of poster paper, taking care not to criticize any responses. Students should understand that newspapers play many important different functions, including entertaining, advertising, and informing readers of local, national and international news, etc.
3. Focus on the news function. Ask each group to brainstorm: **How do citizens gain information about the world?** Have them write their responses on the second sheet of poster paper. Students should understand that there are many other sources of information about the world. These include other print sources, such as magazines and books, the electronic media, such as radio, television, and films, and face-to-face contacts, such as parents, teachers and friends. Most newspapers and many television news programs transmit their stories onto the Internet, some in their entirety, some summarized. Chat Rooms provide an opportunity for interaction and student

opinions. If you have access to the Internet, pull up several different newspaper and television web sites and compare their responses to a single international event on-line.

4. Ask each group to share their answers. Expect some creative responses.
5. After each group has shared their responses, ask the students to focus upon the news function of each source. **What types of news are covered in each source?** Have them note their responses on the additional poster paper.
6. Finally, focus specifically on international news. **How do students acquire knowledge about international events?** Students should note that each source presents different amounts of information and may present different perspectives on international issues.

International Conflict and the Media

ACTIVITY 2: Democracy and a Free Press

Introduction

It is essential that students have some knowledge of the particular importance of the role of the press and media in a democracy. Without a free press, democracy cannot work. This connection was understood by the framers of the Bill of Rights, and the guarantee of freedom of the press appears in the First Amendment to the Constitution.

Student Objectives

- To understand the importance of a free press in the United States, and that the concept of a free press is enshrined in the United States Constitution.
- To understand that there is an important relationship between the government and the news media, with the press serving as a watchdog on governmental activities.
- To consider the rights and responsibilities of a free press.
- To understand the importance of the press and media in contributing to public opinion, which in turn may influence governmental decisions.

Time

1 or 2 class periods

Materials

Copies of Reading 2 for each student; chalkboard

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Reading 2 and ask the students to read it either in class or for homework. After they have read it, ask them to consider:

   What is meant by "a free press?"

   Why was a guarantee for a free press imbedded in the Constitution?

   Why is a free press so important in a democracy? Are there any limitations on the freedom of the press?
2. If there is disagreement among students on this question, record the reasons for these beliefs on the chalkboard.
3. If there is no disagreement, question the students to make sure that they have carefully considered the ramifications of these questions. For instance, is it acceptable for the press to say things that

are untrue about a person, etc.?

4. If there is extensive disagreement, assign students to debate the subject on the following day. Students will likely favor the notion that a free press should have minimal or no restrictions in normal times. Presuming this is their belief, you might point out some instances where the freedom of the press might conflict with other rights, such as a defendant's right to a free trial.

READING 2: Democracy and a Free Press

National and public debate determines the collective wisdom of the people. As democracy is founded on an informed and active citizenry, citizens have the right and responsibility to participate in public affairs. Effective participation requires knowledge and wisdom. Citizens acquired their knowledge through dialogue with other citizens, reading books, magazines and newspapers, and watching and listening to radio and television.

Since colonial times, freedom of speech and the press have been recognized as catalytic forces in the affairs of the citizens and their governmental representatives. Thomas Jefferson, the framer of the Declaration of Independence and the third President of the United States, believed that: "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them."

The twin principles of free speech and free press were so important to our nation's Founding Fathers, they enshrined them into the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, which states that, "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." The purpose of the First Amendment is to enhance and secure the practice of democracy and was designed for the benefit of the general public. Freedoms of press and speech are ways of finding the truth, exercising our self-government, and satisfying self-expression. Media provides forums through which individuals and groups express their opinions. As governmental 'watchdogs' the press keeps citizens informed of governmental events and actions.

What precisely the First Amendment meant, and how it can be reconciled with other rights and freedoms has been a matter of dispute and discussion ever since. To some observers, the First Amendment imposes no obligation that the press should act with restraint. According to Benjamin C. Bradlee, former executive editor of the *Washington Post*, freedom of the press "includes the freedom to be wrong, even to be irresponsible."

To other observers, freedom of the press is not absolute. It implies obligations and responsibilities, partly because it may conflict with other freedoms. According to Caspar Weinberger, U.S. Secretary of Defense during the 1980's, "the Founding Fathers did not proclaim freedom of the press and then resolutely stand aside. They expected government to put all constitutional rights as well as duties in a state of balance. Some [people] act as if they believe freedom of the press is the paramount freedom--so important that no other freedoms can exist without it. They seem to believe that any action required to produce a story is justified by the First Amendment. Unfortunately, such an attitude promotes the trampling of other, equally legitimate public interests--the national defense, an accused's right of a fair trial free from a jury influenced by news reports, the right of privacy and others."

Another concern of the writers of the Constitution was one of balancing power to prevent the growth of an authoritarian government. Within the national government they created three separate branches (the President, Congress and the Supreme Court), that were intended to serve as checks and balances. One extra-constitutional brake on the possible governmental abuse of power was the free press. Frequently

called the "Fourth Branch of Government" the press was not simply observers or reporters of events./ Over the past two hundred years the press, subsequently augmented with other mass media, have become an integral part of the political and governing process. The press and media have had an increasingly influential impact on public policy, governmental decisions and popular attitudes.

During the past fifty years, American journalism has undergone a revolution, conceptually, stylistically and technologically, evolving into what has become popularly known as the mass media. These changes have altered the way governmental institutions function. In a relatively brief interlude, traditional journalism--defined as a vehicle to inform, educate and entertain--has been vastly broadened. Television has emerged as a pervasive instrument in daily communications, and news is instantly relayed around the globe by space satellites. There is a prevailing sense that an event isn't of much consequence--unless the media are there to observe it, report it, and explain its significance. One needs to be sensitive to the contemporary role of the news media--for good or ill--as a marketplace of ideas and a channel for information.

But there has been tension between the press and government. Journalists are dependent on government sources for their work. Modern presidents have been compelled to be effective communicators. The power of the presidency in many ways rests in his power to persuade. The president exercises hidden power through mobilizing public opinion, defining national problems, setting priorities and offering visions for the future. Television has enhanced the president's ability to project views and mobilize public sentiment.

Student Questions

Why are free speech and free press important in a democratic system?

What are the differences and similarities among various print and electronic news media?

What is the relationship between the government and the news media?

What restrictions, if any, should there be on the press and media?

What is the relationship between public opinion and the press and media?

What is the relationship between public opinion and government?

/ The phrase "Fourth Branch" of government derived from the British term "Fourth Estate." Lord (Thomas) Macaulay, a British historian wrote: "The gallery in which the reporters sit has become a fourth estate of the realm. The early British Parliament had three estates of man: "Lords Spiritual," "Lords Temporal," and "Commons."

ACTIVITY 3: How News is Gathered and Reported

Introduction

Students need some understanding on how news is made. This activity focuses upon the principle elements of news gathering and reporting. There are obviously many good books which deal with these subjects in greater depth. If you have already dealt with these issues, this activity can be omitted. If you have not directly covered these issues do not assume that all students will understand the complex processes of news gathering and reporting. It is also important to understand that a news story differs depending upon the medium of transmission. Hence, the same story will appear differently in newspapers, news magazines, radio, and television.

Student Objectives

- To understand the basic processes that are involved in news gathering.
- To understand that different media present the same story in different ways.
- To understand the subjective nature of news reporting.
- To understand that what the reader or viewer comprehends from the story may not be what is intended by the reporter.
- To know that journalists have perspectives on issues about which they write.
- To understand that news sources have many ways of communicating perspectives about international conflicts, such as through main stories, headlines, editorials, cartoons and pictures.

Time

1-3 class periods

Materials

A chalkboard; a video camera and a video recorder with three tapes; an audio tape recorder with an extra tape; copies of Reading 3 for each student; current newspapers and news magazines; camera and film (preferably a Polaroid-type)

Recommended Procedures

FIRST PERIOD

1. Assign one student to be the class photographer. Have the student take pictures of: 1) the incident; 2) press conference; and 3) student projects.
2. Divide the class into four groups. Remove three groups, either by sending them to the library to perform a task or to stand quietly outside the classroom for a few minutes. Setup and turn on the video camera.

3. Fabricate an incident in your classroom, such as a mock prearranged student/teacher or student/student confrontation, a mock theft of an article, etc. Alternately, have students play scripted roles in an international event or incident, such as a summit meeting or peace conference.
4. When the incident is over, ask the students who remained in the classroom to write down what they saw and heard.
5. Remove the first tape from the video camera and replace it with the second tape. Ask the other three groups to return to the classroom. Tell them that an incident has happened while they were absent, and their job will be to find out what happened and write a news story on the incident. Their assignments will be due the following day.
6. Assign one group the responsibility of writing a 300-word story for a newspaper. Assign the second group to tape a one-minute radio broadcast. Assign the third group to tape a 30-second television broadcast.
7. Give the three groups a few minutes to discuss how they will proceed. Tell the newspaper group that the class photographer has some pictures that they may wish to use. Make sure that the audio group knows that they will need an announcer. The television group will need a reporter.
8. Tell the groups that there will be a press briefing in fifteen minutes that will include those involved in the incident and several eyewitnesses.
9. At the press conference let each participant and eyewitness make a statement, then permit students in each of the three groups to ask questions. Use the video and audio recorders to tape the press conference.
10. If time remains, give each group the ability to question independently any of those involved in the incident.

SECOND PERIOD

1. Permit the students to present their stories. Ideally, the television group will have video taped their presentation, and the radio group will have audio taped their presentation, and the newspaper group will have duplicated their news report.
2. When the groups have completed their presentations, ask the students to compare and contrast the three different stories as presented on the three different types of media. Write the student responses on the chalkboard. Note and comment:

   What facts were included in each report?

   Which facts were different?

   What were the benefits and limitations of each media?

THIRD PERIOD

1. Play back the videotape of the original incident. Query the students:

   How accurate were their reports of the incident?

What were the problems with their reports?

What were the differences and similarities of the different media?

2. On the chalkboard, write the following: What Really Happened; Witness Reports of the Incident; Correspondents Who Report the Event; The Medium of Communication; Editors; The Reader/Viewer/Listener.
3. Students should recognize that each participant in this sequence may alter the story in some way. Indeed, witnesses may change their own story through retelling it. Each participant has lenses through which the event is viewed. Often, the description of the event that the reader/viewer/listener ends up with has little to do with the original event Ask the students to consider:

How is the original event changed by each of the links in the news gathering/reporting sequence?

4. Distribute Reading 3 and ask the students to read it.
5. Display a newspaper and discuss the placement of the stories, headlines, pictures and editorials. Discuss how newspapers influence opinions of readers. Have the students bring in news articles, pictures, editorials and cartoons focused upon a common international event or issue. The students can use newspapers or news magazines for their materials.

Extending the Lesson

1. Also discuss how radio and television news influence opinion by placement of the story, the pictures used and the language of the broadcaster/reporter. Consider using the school newspaper as an example during this activity. Ask the students to write an article for the student newspaper, or your local newspaper, and see if it is published. If so, what changes were made in the article during editing? Why did the editor make changes?
2. Invite an editor or journalist into your classroom from your local newspaper, radio or television station.

READING 3: How Newspapers Influence Public Opinion

Newspaper reporters and editors have many ways of influencing opinions of their readers. The most important is the determination of what is or is not "news." Excluding or down playing a particular story may be even more important than how the story is presented. If the decision is to cover the story, then its placement in the newspaper is important. Obviously, the front page is where the editors believe the most important stories go. If a story ends up on page 13, it is not likely that it will have much of an impact upon public opinion. Even on the front page, there is a hierarchy of stories with the upper right-hand column receiving the most importance, the upper left the second most important position, followed by the lower right and finally the lower left corner.

The amount of space devoted to an article is important. In most stories, the most important information is usually discussed in the first few paragraphs. The additional parts of the story which appear on subsequent pages are often skipped by busy readers unless they have particular interest in the story.

As newspapers sales are partly based on sales in newsstands, some editors creatively manipulate front page headlines to attract readers. Likewise headlines are important in other articles as often readers skim only the headlines and do not have the time or interest to read every story. Occasionally, headlines give impressions that are qualified or contradicted in the news story itself.

Whether or not the story includes a photograph, and what that photograph conveys, are other ways of influencing the reader. If the story is about a successful military campaign with few casualties, but the photograph shows dead American bodies, the reader may well be left with the opposite impression than what is in the content of the story.

The News Editor serves as a check on the reporter's accuracy and opinion. The Editor also manages the amount and placement of follow-up coverage for the story. In general, the more the story is covered the greater its influence on readers.

Many newspapers publish editorial cartoons. These cartoons are often examined by readers who may not otherwise read the news stories to which the cartoon refers. Cartoons express opinions about the issue or event.

Finally, Owners and Editorial Editors have control over the editorial page which usually expresses their opinion. Their opinions are hopefully based on the analysis of facts. Occasionally, the opinions expressed by reporters in news articles are contradicted by the opinions expressed on the editorial page. News analysis on the news pages is usually labeled, and columnists on the news pages are allowed wide latitude in interpretation.

Student Questions

Why would editors and reporters want to influence public opinions about a particular event or person?

What other ways do editors and reporters influence opinion of readers?

Do television and radio influence opinions in the same way as newspapers?

International Conflict and the Media

ACTIVITY 4: Propaganda

Introduction

Students need to understand that the "news" that appears in newspapers or newscasts on radio and television is often slanted toward a particular position. In some cases the "news" is outright propaganda for a particular cause or ideology. This activity attempts to define propaganda and how newspapers and the media are influenced by propagandists, often unintentionally.

Student Objectives

- To recognize some basic techniques of propaganda.
- To understand the difficulties that journalists face during times of conflict.
- To write a news article.

Time

1 or 2 class periods

Materials

Copies of Readings 4A-C for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Reading 4A. After the students have read it, ask a few questions to make sure they have a basic understanding of propaganda.
2. Divide the class into four groups. Distribute Reading 4B. Assign one group to write a news article supporting the Corona position. Assign the second group to write a news article supporting the Dingnabian position. Assign the third group to write a news article that is "objective and balanced." Assign the fourth group to write an antiwar news article.
3. Ask a student to read out loud the first speech by the Great Leader of Corona. Ask another student to read out loud the second speech of the President-for-Life of Dingnab. Ask the students to compare the different versions:

   What did each account leave out?

   What new details were added?

   How did emotional words present the viewpoint of the speakers?
4. Distribute Reading 4C. Ask the students to review the speeches and identify propaganda techniques. Ask them to review their own news accounts of the speeches. What propaganda techniques did they incorporate into their own news accounts? Query the students:

Could a reporter be "neutral" if he lived in Corona or Dingnab?

Is it possible to write an article that is neutral under any circumstances?

Do not reporters have values and aren't these values reflected in what they write?

Extending the Lesson

1. There are many good curriculum materials and books that focus on propaganda techniques and thinking skills. If your students have difficulty recognizing propaganda, you might wish to consult these materials to go into greater depth of this issue. Likewise, almost all advertising and almost all political speeches and editorials include some form of "persuasive" techniques.
2. Pick up any advertisement, editorial, or speech and ask students to locate the propaganda techniques employed. Also, there will be many primary source examples of propaganda presented in this unit.
3. Students should not be left with the impression that propaganda is necessarily wrong. Many public-spirited campaigns employ propaganda techniques. For instance, many health campaigns use propaganda techniques to promote better health, such as the anti-smoking promotion or a campaign in support of the United Way. Have the students identify other positive campaigns that use propaganda techniques.

Other sources you might examine are:

Allen, Robert and Lorne Greene. *The Propaganda Game*, 2nd edition. New Haven, Connecticut: AIM, 1970.

Jowett, G. S., and Victoria O'Donnell, **Propaganda and Persuasion**, 2nd edition. Newbury Park, California: Sage Press, 1992 .

Savant, Marilyn Vos. **The Power of Logical Thinking**. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

Activity 4, Propaganda

READING 4A: What is Propaganda?

The term "propaganda" originated with the Roman Catholic Church and its efforts to propagate its faith. The creation of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was partly a response to the Protestant Reformation. It set up a centralized control and coordination of the Church's basic religious messages.

After the World War I, it became evident that many claims made by the U.S. government during the war blaming Germany for the responsibility for the war or for many purported German atrocities were false. Considerable criticism of the U.S. government's manipulation of information and public opinion during the war ensued, and the term "propaganda" entered into popular usage referring to a deceitful communication. The term was subsequently used to refer to many communications of totalitarian regimes, such as the fascists and Marxists, which promoted their particular ideologies. The "Big Lie" technique was popularized by Josef Goebbels, the Nazi minister of propaganda, who believed that people would believe anything, no matter how blatantly false, as long as it was repeated consistently and confidently.

Theoretically, the opposite of propaganda is education which tries to present all-important sides of controversial issues and encourages listeners to make up their own minds. Propaganda presents only one side and tries to influence the listener's opinion. Propagandists often present their activities as "education." It is important for students to have some experience with propaganda techniques.

Propaganda devices are used every day by advertisers who wish to sell their products or services. These techniques are usually used by politicians and editorial writers as well. But in times of conflict, propaganda techniques are used brazenly--usually on all sides. News correspondents in principle try to objectively examine particular positions on issues. However, correspondents often become tools of propagandists promoting particular perspectives. This is particularly true during times of conflict.

Student Questions

What is propaganda?

What is the difference between education and propaganda?

Why do nations use propaganda?

Why do journalists often abet the spread of propaganda?

READING 4B: Speeches on the Corona-Dingnab War

An excerpt from a Speech by the Great Leader of Corona

My fellow Coronans! As you all know, the evil empire of Dingnab has regularly violated our border, pillaged our villages and has otherwise besmirched our national honor. In the words of our famous philosopher Inhoptet, "Dingnab must be destroyed before it destroys us!"

Despite these travesties perpetrated by the Dingnabs, we have always sought to settle our disputes through peaceful means. Yesterday, however, the peoples of Dingnab could no longer stomach their own government. They revolted against their ape-like and vile leaders. Dingnab forces tried to suppress this pro-freedom rebellion, and today volunteers from Corona have gone to the support of the peoples of Dingnab. Their aim is to assist them in overthrowing their illegitimate, Satan-like and dictatorial government. I am delighted to report that opposition has been minimal and that our volunteers have liberated the town of Dandy. As expected, the freedom-loving people of Dandy have warmly greeted us as liberators. Our volunteers are charging forward like bulls in an open field seeking rightful vengeance upon the evil leaders of Dingnab. Our volunteers will not stop until victory is assured and Corona's national honor has been restored.

An excerpt from a Speech by the President-for-Life of Dingnab

Democratic citizens of freedom-loving Dingnab! Yesterday, without provocation, thousands of Corona's armed forces supported by hundreds of tanks and airplanes have viciously assaulted our nation. They have conquered the border town of Dandy. Dandy citizens have bravely resisted the unprovoked onslaught. Outnumbered and out-gunned, the freedom-loving Dandy citizens, including women and children, have been brutally slaughtered in the streets. Before he was murdered by the Corona's evil henchmen, the commander of our loyal garrison in Dandy asked us not to forget their sacrifice. They died so that we might live and preserve the Dingnabian way of life! We must not let the sacrifices of the fellow citizens of Dandy go unpunished. We must take the offensive and push the brutal animals out of Dandy and forever end the constant threat from Corona. Our military forces are mobilizing. It is inconceivable that we could lose. No matter how long it takes, we will destroy the invading hordes. As we march forward to victory, we will, "Remember the brave citizens of Dandy!" "Long live our illustrious leaders!" "Push back the invading scum!" "Long live Dingnab!"

READING 4C: Brief List of Propaganda Techniques

Name calling -- attacks person or group of people

Glittering generalities -- uses undefined phrases that have positive emotional appeal to the audience

Testimonials -- persons to whom we have respect or esteem are introduced as supporters

Just plain folks -- promotes neighborly intimacy

Slogans -- short phrases used to short-circuit thinking and promote particular action

Non-sequitur -- the conclusion does not necessitate the premise

Appeal to prestige -- action will secure or maintain prestige

Repetition -- believe because we have heard it so often

Wishful thinking -- believe a proposition because a person wants it to be true

Inconceivability -- belief is false because a person can't conceive it to be true

Tabloid thinking -- oversimplify complex theories, etc.

Emotional terms -- term that arouses feelings in favor or against an object

Rationalization -- citing lofty reasons that probably have fewer creditable grounds

Causal oversimplification -- a complex event is explained as due to one or two causes, when in reality many causes are responsible

Prejudice -- unwillingness to examine fairly the evidence and reasoning about the thing, person or idea which is the object of the prejudice

Metaphor and Simile -- a metaphor is a comparison implied but not stated; a simile is a comparison stated explicitly with connecting words "as" or "like"

Vagueness -- doubt as to the scope of particular words or phrases

ACTIVITY 5: Freedom of the Press and National Security -- The Early Years

Introduction

The general principle of freedom of the press was emphasized in Activity 2. The third activity examined how news is gathered and reported. The fourth activity examined some of the ways that the news is manipulated. This activity reviews an instance where freedom of the press collides with national security. Most observers believe that there should be limitations to freedom of the press during periods of conflict, although what exactly these restrictions should be, remain unclear.

Student Objectives

- To understand that the right of freedom of the press is not absolute when it comes to issues involving national security.
- To know that during periods of national conflict the government and the military may need to keep certain information secret to protect American lives.
- To know that government and military officials can abuse the claim of national security by including items which might embarrass them or cast doubt upon their actions.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Copies of Reading 5 for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Reading 5 and ask the students to read it either in class or for homework. After they have read the handout, ask them to consider:

   Why should freedom of the press be curtailed during times of national conflict?

   Who decides when national security is at stake?

   Who decides when there is a conflict that requires restrictions of freedom of the press?

   Can there be abuses of these restrictions?

   Why weren't there any governmental restrictions during the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 or the Mexican-American War?

Why would improved technology, such as the invention of telegraph, encourage governmental and military leaders to promote restrictions on the press?

READING 5: The Early Years

Conflict tests democracy-- its cohesion, staying power and its sense of purpose. Conflict also tests democracy's commitment to its central values of freedom, openness, independent inquiry, dissent, and public debate. During the past two centuries, the majority of Americans have supported the limited abridgement of the First Amendment in times of war and on issues of public security and safety. Once war has been declared, many Americans believe that the press and media should defer to governmental needs and desires. The tension between a free press and the government is at its greatest during periods of war.

Prior to the Civil War there were no governmental restrictions upon the press during wartime. However, during the Revolutionary War (1775-1782) a Boston editor was run out of town by patriots for trying to present an alternative view to the war. In New York, James Rivington of the New York *Gazetteer* was not permitted to present loyalist and patriot points of views. A major reason for the lack of governmental censorship was due to the communication and transportation system that existed at the time. Dispatches were so slow getting into print that there was little chance of their providing useful information to the enemy or embarrassment to the generals.

The Mexican-American War (1846-47) became the first foreign war to be covered extensively by American correspondents. Newspapers developed extensive communication links to the war zones, and often delivered the news faster than did military couriers and the U.S. mails. Newspapers also began using the telegraph, which had been invented by Samuel Morse in 1844. When the Mexican-American War started, telegraph lines were few in number. Through this novel source, news reports of battles in Mexico reached some editors within a few days of the actual events themselves.

During the 1850's, telegraph lines spread throughout the nation and newspaper correspondents could speedily report events and disseminate news within a matter of hours. Simultaneously, newspaper circulation rapidly expanded. By the middle of the nineteenth century the combined circulation of all U.S. dailies had climbed to an estimated 300,000 copies.

In addition, magazines rapidly expanded readerships. The word *magazine* derived from the French language and meant "store." Early British magazines (circa 1731) were "stores" containing essays, stories, reviews, news, poems, and other items. Magazines differed from newspapers in that a single issue often focused upon a particular topic and therefore appealed to readers interested in that particular topic. In the United States, magazine readership rapidly expanded during the mid-nineteenth century. Magazines have had a substantial impact upon the middle class often promoting social and political reforms and putting issues and events into perspective. Since many magazines were national in scope, they fostered a sense of national community.

Student Questions

Why was there no governmental censorship during the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 or the Mexican-American War?

How might technological changes affect relationships between the press and the military during times of conflict?

How might an increased readership of newspapers and magazines influence society?

What is the difference between a newspaper and a magazine?

ACTIVITY 6: The Press and the Military

Introduction

The tension between a free press and national security is not new. Ever since the Civil War, the American press has been subjected to various degrees of restriction or censorship during wartime. Due to the unique circumstances surrounding each war, different relationships between the military and the press were created. A major influence in these restrictions has been the improvement of communications technology.

Student Objectives

- To understand that since the Civil War, when the United States has been engaged in an armed conflict, restrictions have been imposed upon the press.
- To understand that these restrictions have varied from war to war, in part because of changing communications technology.
- To establish a framework to examine all conflicts.
- To conduct research in a library or from resources in the classroom.

Time

2-6 class periods

Materials

Copies of Readings 6A-H for each student

Note

Each Reading in this activity is a case study which includes a discussion of an armed conflict and a discussion of particular relationships between the press/media and the military during that conflict. As it is not necessary for students to know the relationships between the military and the press during every conflict, we recommend that students be exposed to only a few of these case studies. Teachers using this unit in an American History course, may wish to integrate these case studies into their normal coverage of these conflicts.

There are many possible ways to examine armed conflicts. A simple framework is to look at them in the following way:

Causes of the conflict -- What were the remote and proximate causes of the conflict? Were there ways in which a violent conflict could have been avoided?

The actual conflict -- What happened during the conflict?

Resolution -- How was the conflict resolved or ended? Could it have been resolved in other ways?

The consequences -- What were the short and long term results of the conflict? What were the unintended consequences of the conflict?

The actors -- Who were the actors in the conflict?

The motivations and expectations -- What were their motivations and expectations during the conflict?

Recommended Procedures

1. Divide the class into five groups. Distribute copies of Readings 6A, 6B, 6C, 6D and 6E, giving multiple copies of one Reading to each group. Have the students read their case studies and discuss them in their groups.
2. While the students are reading their case studies, recreate the following framework on the chalkboard.
3. Ask the groups to fill in the blanks. Not all of the information is given in these readings! Either in class or for homework, students should seek answers in their American History textbooks or other sources to locate answers. Students may come up with different answers depending upon what sources they examine.
4. After you have examined the framework for each conflict, ask each group to report on governmental restrictions on the press during these conflicts. Point out that restrictions can include: censorship; preventing correspondents for getting access to the battlefield or access to military personnel; and controlling information released to the press through briefings.
5. Ask the students to consider in what other ways the government attempted to influence the press or media.
6. Distribute copies of Readings 6F, 6G and 6H to each student, and ask them to read the handouts either in class or for homework. Again, have the students examine the causes, conflict, resolution and consequences of these wars.
7. During the second class period, inform the students that many problems that later emerged between the military and the press were due to the experiences in Vietnam, Grenada and Panama. The students should understand these case studies from both the position of the press and the military. Have them consider:

   What were the problems that came up on both sides?

   If the students were military leaders, how might they respond to the press in the next conflict if they believed that the press had been responsible for losing the last war?

   If the students were news correspondents, how might they expect to be treated by the military in the next conflict?

   What were the unique conditions in each of these cases that were not likely to be repeated?
8. Create a continuum on the chalkboard: draw a horizontal line; on the left end of the line write "No Censorship, Control or Restrictions." On the right end, write "Highly Censored, Controlled

or Restricted."

9. Ask the students to place the wars on this continuum. Students should place the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Mexican-American War on the **No Censorship** end, and the Grenada and Panama interventions on the **Highly Censored**. Vietnam should fall toward the left end, and the other wars should fall toward the right end of the line. Ask the students to justify their placements.

Framework of American Engagements.

Civil War	Spanish - American War	World War I	World War II	Korean War
Causes				
Actual Conflict				
Resolution				
Long Term Consequences				
Actors				
Motivations and Expectations				

Activity 6, The Press and the Military

READING 6A: The Civil War

Background

While there were many causes of the Civil War the most significant was slavery. Ever since the Constitution recognized the legality of Southern slavery, the United States had been troubled by this issue. Anti-slavery feelings grew, particularly in Northern states during the 1840's and 1850's. Abraham Lincoln was elected President on the platform of outlawing slavery in new Western territories acquired during the Mexican-American War. Many Southerners believed that Lincoln's election would result in their eventual ruin.

After Abraham Lincoln was elected president, South Carolina seceded from the Union. It was followed by other slave-holding states. On April 12, 1861, troops from the newly-formed Confederate States of America fired upon the Union-held Ft. Sumter in the middle of Charleston's harbor. This was the first shot in America's Civil War (1861-1865), which engulfed the nation for four long years.

When the war was over, the South was militarily defeated and the Southern economy was shattered for decades. The Civil War resulted in more casualties than the combined losses of all other wars in which the United States has been involved since its inception. But the Union had been preserved and slavery was declared illegal. However, it took more than a hundred years before legal discrimination based upon race was ended.

The Press in the Civil War

The widespread adoption of the telegraph gave journalists the ability to report on military engagements as they were taking place, thus providing the public with information previously received only by the governmental and military leaders. Many issues that today confront the relationship between the press and governments at war emerged during this conflict.

Reporters and photographers followed the movements of the military on both sides of the war and then sent reports via the telegraph to newspapers. As news streamed from the telegraph, newspapers began to highlight headlines which summarized the story in a few words. Press reports of the Battle of Bull Run reached New York within 24 hours.

There was a hunger for information about the war, and 500 correspondents flocked to Union armies to cover the war for Northern newspapers. No war had ever been so fully reported before. New York newspapers often devoted as much as a third of their space to war coverage. Much of the reporting was sensationalist, biased, inaccurate and propagandistic. This was partly due to the inexperience of the vast majority of reporters. But as the war dragged on, the professional "war correspondent" emerged and reporting improved.

Censorship restrictions were initiated both by the Confederate and Union governments. In the South, the Confederate government consistently censored the press, which was also restricted by a severe limitation of paper for newspapers due to the Union blockade and the lack of trained journalists. In the

North, the Federal government at first called for publishers and editors to comply with voluntary censorship, but no guidelines were provided. The government subsequently enforced a compulsory censorship scheme, which was enforced by prosecuting papers deemed supportive of the Confederate cause, and by denying newspapers access to telegraph lines and the mails. Temporarily, the military suspended publication of some newspapers for reporting information believed to be false or believed to foment dissatisfaction with the Union cause.

In war zones, reporters were severely restricted. Some generals barred reporters from areas under their command. Union General Irvin McDowell facetiously suggested that correspondents wear white uniforms in the field "to indicate the purity of their character." General William T. Sherman believed that the press caused the Civil War, and that much military failure could be blamed on leaks emanating from reporters. Sherman arrested Thomas Knox, a reporter for the *New York Herald*, after Knox violated censorship regulations. While Knox was eventually released, Sherman established the principle that journalists must be accredited and acceptable to military commanders in the field. Perhaps the Northern Generals were right. The Confederate General Robert E. Lee was an avid reader of Northern newspapers throughout the war.

Reporting during the war was not limited to words. Matthew Brady's photographs of famous battles and leaders added a new dimension to the press coverage of war. Although his photographs were not published since a practical method of transferring photographs to newspapers was not perfected until a decade later, artists copied his pictures, and these accurate likenesses conveyed the image of war to the public through newspapers and magazines. Brady captured the hysteria, horror and occasional glory of war. Civil War illustrations dotted newspapers as well as magazines which had developed large readerships.

Student Questions

How did technological advances change the relationship between reporters and the military?

Why was the military concerned about the news gathering and reporting of correspondents during the Civil War but not before?

Why were photographs and illustrations important during the war?

READING 6B: The Spanish-American War

Background

By far, the most frequently reported international events during the last two decades of the nineteenth century were those related to Cuba. Cuba had been a Spanish colony since the early Spanish explorers visited the island during the early 16th century. Although most other Spanish colonies had gained their independence during the nineteenth century, Spain held on to Cuba. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, Cubans began a series of unsuccessful insurrections to gain independence from Spain. In March 1895, another revolt arose. From the beginning of the insurrection, American newspapers were particularly interested in covering events. There were fewer than twenty days in which the Cuban revolt did not appear in one of the New York newspapers from its inception until war broke out between the United States and Spain in 1898.

The reasons for this extensive coverage in the Cuban insurrection were several fold. First, there was extreme competition among newspapers in New York, particularly between the *World*, the *Journal*, *Sun*, and *Herald*. Second, in order to boost circulation, several stories were manufactured, particularly by the *Journal*. Finally, there was a concerted attempt by Cuban emigres to influence American public opinion in favor of the revolution.

In 1896, the Spanish colonial authorities, while attempting to put down the revolt, herded Cubans into concentration camps near Spanish military bases. Epidemics and hunger swept through the island, and more than 100,000 Cubans were estimated to have died in these camps. American newspapers played up these repressive measures. Due to exaggerated claims, newspapers reported that more than 400,000 Cubans had died. Newspapers also published photographs that were purportedly taken at these camps. Some were fakes. While on a visit to Havana, the United States battleship *Maine* mysteriously blew up. Efforts were made to ascertain the responsibility for the act, but no examination ever placed the blame upon any party. American newspapers blamed the Spanish authorities and the slogan "Remember the Maine" became a commonly heard rallying cry throughout the subsequent war.

The war ended with the complete defeat of Spain. The United States took possession of Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Cuba. After a few years of occupation, Cuba became independent. The United States military forces suppressed a rebellion in the Philippines, and eventually granted independence in 1946. Puerto Rico remains a Commonwealth of the United States.

The Press in the Spanish-American War

Before the war, William Randolph Hearst, owner of the New York *Journal*, sent several reporters and photographers to cover the events unfolding in Cuba. Reportedly, one photographer cabled Hearst that everything was quiet in Cuba and that he was returning to the United States. Hearst requested that he stay in Havana, and supposedly cabled: "You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war." Whether or not Hearst actually sent this cable has been a matter of dispute, however, his newspaper covered the insurrection extensively and chanted for American intervention against Spain. When war between Spain and the United States finally broke out in April 1898, several observers dubbed it "Hearst's war."

During the Spanish-American War, improved communications and transportation intensified the problems that had emerged during the Civil War. Newspapers published information about combat plans and ship movements. The U.S. government responded by establishing censorship units at cable offices. Due to the war's brevity, there was no opportunity to resolve outstanding disputes.

The Spanish-American War witnessed the emergence of a new media, film. By the 1890's there was already a fledgling but growing film industry. In 1898 when the tensions increased between the United States and Spain over Cuba, this popular medium inflamed public opinion during the period of national debate. The new "flickers," appearing at carnivals and nickelodeons, were crude films that lasted only a few minutes. These films provided both information about the war and encouraged an emotional outpouring of "war fever."

Film makers went to great lengths to find, or manufacture, film footage that catered to the popular war interest. After the battleship Maine exploded and sank in Havana Harbor, one movie exhibitor found footage of other American battleships at sea or anchor, and simply re-labeled one as the Maine. Another took their photographic equipment to Cuba and photographed the sunken hull of the Maine, and another filmed the "Burial of Maine Victims." After the war broke out, film makers faked footage of naval battles by using miniature ships in a water tank.

Participants engaged in combat used the press to their own advantage. Theodore Roosevelt, for instance, had his "Rough Riders" filmed while training at an army base near Tampa. Roosevelt invited prominent journalists to observe his assault on San Juan Hill. These activities advanced his presidential career at the turn of the century.

Student Questions

How did technological advances change the relationship between reporters and the military?

Did the press cause the Spanish-American War?

Was the press censored during this war?

READING 6C: World War I

Background to the American Entry into World War I

World War I began in August 1914, with Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire on one side, and France and Russia on the other. To avoid fighting a two front war against France in the west and Russia in the east, Germany decided to make a lightening strike west through neutral Belgium in hopes of quickly knocking France out of the war. As soon as the German attack began, Great Britain declared war on Germany for violating Belgium's neutrality.

For the first three years of the war, the United States remained neutral. The war was considered by many to be the first "total war," which mobilized large numbers of citizens of the belligerent nations.

Two major events pushed the United States to declare war upon Germany. The first was the unrestricted submarine warfare in which Germany engaged. The sinking of the Lusitania--a passenger ship with Americans on board--by German submarines was particularly repulsive. Articles and photographs of the sinking ship appeared in many American newspapers, and these accounts inflamed public opinion against Germany. Another cause was the "Zimmermann" telegram, in which the German Foreign minister offered Mexico the return of Texas, California and the American Southwest if Mexico allied itself with Germany. The United States entered the war in April 1917. The war ended in November 1918 with an allied victory and the defeat of Germany and Austria. On both side, casualties were enormous.

The Press in World War I

During World War I, the press served as propaganda tools for their respective governments. Propaganda was intended: to buttress support for the war within their own country; to dishearten the public of the opposing nations; and to gain support from neutral nations.

Allied countries portrayed the leader of Germany, the Kaiser, as a beast in human form. When the Germans swept through Belgium in 1914, they caused the deaths of about 5,000. Allied newspapers regularly reported on these atrocities. A committee of British historians and lawyers examined them during the war, and concluded that the Germans were guilty of systematic murder, lust and pillage. Newspapers depicted them as uncivilized, torturers, rapists, and barbarians. In one incident, the report claimed that eight German soldiers had bayoneted a two-year-old child. In another incident, the London *Times* reported in August 1914 that German soldiers chopped off the arms of a child who clung to his mother's skirts. In 1915, the French government provided a photograph of the armless baby. A French newspaper published an illustration showing the German soldiers eating the baby's hands. None of the specific charges made during the war were authenticated after the war. They were intended as propaganda and they inflamed the public in Britain and France. And these stories made their way to the United States as well.

By contrast, the German propaganda was rigid, unimaginative and largely defensive. It had little impact upon allied public opinion. In any case, relatively little of the German propaganda was circulated in the

United States. On August 5, 1914, the British cut the German Atlantic cable, and all stories written in Germany or Austro-Hungary were rerouted through London. Allied censorship shaped available news coverage in America. In addition, British propagandists encouraged American participation in the war on the allied side. Some American newspapers and magazines supported the allied cause from the beginning; others opposed American entry into the war.

When the United States entered the war in 1917, the nation was deeply divided. President Woodrow Wilson had just won re-election partly because of the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Wilson established the Committee on Public Information which spread pro-war propaganda throughout the nation.

Government censorship went immediately into effect. The Departments of State, War and Navy developed a set of regulations even before Congress formally declared war on Germany and Austro-Hungary. These regulations restricted publication of information about the location of troops or weapons, planned tactics, the location of missing troops or ships still subject to possible rescue, and news about operational weaknesses that could be used by the enemy.

Subsequently, Congress passed the Espionage Act, which banned attempts to cause insubordination in the armed forces or to conspire to achieve these results. As a result of this act, many German-language and Socialist newspapers were banned from the mails. When the act was challenged in court, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes framed the "clear and present danger" test that balanced the government's effort to wage war and a dissenter's right to free speech.

In 1918, Congress passed the Sedition Act which forbade writing or publishing "any disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the United States or the Constitution, military or naval forces, flag, or the uniform." This act was mainly used to harass unpopular radical and pro-German publications. Many sweeping generalities of the Sedition Act were later repealed.

Before American entry into the war, U.S. journalists reported the war from both the allied and German and Austrian sides. However, information in the war zones was tightly controlled by the military. After the American Expeditionary Force arrived in France, about 80 accredited American correspondents roamed freely behind the front, and they advanced with the troops. All reports went through a military censor. In general news of engagements, casualties and troop movements were restricted to what was released in official communiques.

During the war, film making became an important source of information for Americans. It allowed Americans to experience the war vicariously. Films replicated dog fights; pictured war in the trenches. These films were widely viewed in growing numbers of movie houses that sprouted up around cities and towns. After the U.S. entered the war, films were mainly used for propaganda. Films were intended to encourage recruitment and to portray an enemy worth fighting. Hence, Germans were portrayed as Prussian monsters bent on rape, and pillage, executing civilians, flogging women, starving children and burning villages. Alternately, Americans and allies appeared as heroic comrades, who were urged on to battle by atrocious behavior of their enemy.

These restrictions on the press were criticized during the two decades between the end of World War I and the beginning of the World War II. After the war, it became evident that many of the claims

blaming Germany for the responsibility for the war and many of the purported German atrocities were false. Considerable criticism of the U.S. government's manipulation of information and public opinion during the war ensued, and the term "propaganda" entered into popular usage meaning deceitful communication.

Student Questions

What role did the press play in World War I?

How did the press serve as a propaganda arm for the government and the military?

What role did communication technology play in World War I?

How did the government and the military enforce censorship and other restrictions on the press?

What might have happened if the press had published accurate accounts of the carnage that occurred during World War I?

Activity 6, The Press and the Military

READING 6D: World War II

Background

Some historians have argued that World War II was a consequence and a continuation of World War I. Clearly, the Versailles Peace Treaty contributed to the conditions in Europe which led to World War II.

During World War I, revolution racked Russia in 1917 and eventually emerged the totalitarian Marxist regime of the Soviet Union. Among the first steps of the leaders of the Soviet Union was to gain control over the press and film industries. The Soviet leaders then used these as propaganda tools to generate support for their policies. They also attempted to influence the public opinion of citizens in other nations through propaganda techniques.

Italy joined the Allied nations during World War I in hopes of acquiring territory at the expense of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After the war, tension mounted in Italy as citizens compared the costs of the war with the minimal territorial gains awarded to Italy by the Versailles Treaty. This tension contributed to the rise of the fascists led by Benito Mussolini.

In defeated Germany, the Versailles Treaty contributed to the rise of the fascists led by Adolf Hitler. The Nazi party excelled in propaganda. When it acquired power in 1933, it systematically destroyed the independent press and filled the press with propaganda. These propaganda techniques were clearly spelled out in Hitler's book, **Mein Kampf** and in Josef Goebbels' writings. These principles were: 1) emotionalism, including the use of pageantry and spectacle; 2) extreme flexibility, including the use of contradictory appeals to different audiences; and 3) pragmatic expediency focusing upon the particular needs of the Nazi Party.

Propagandists in totalitarian countries took advantage of two technological innovations that developed after World War I: radio and the film-making industry. While several experiments in radio broadcast were carried out during the second decade of the twentieth century, the birth of commercial radio is usually traced to Pittsburgh's station KDKA, which began broadcasting in 1920. Radio quickly spread throughout the United States and many other countries. By the 1930's radio transmissions were received by the majority of Americans and Europeans. The stunning power of radio was demonstrated on the eve of Halloween in 1938 when Orson Wells broadcast H. G. Wells' "War of the Worlds." Panic struck many Americans who listened to the "news" broadcast. Many actually believed that Martians had landed in New Jersey and much of the East Coast had been destroyed.

Motion pictures had been around since the late nineteenth century and had filmed events in the Spanish-American War and World War I. This medium rapidly expanded after the war. During the 1920's, weekly attendance at movie theaters averaged 46 million Americans; by 1930 it averaged 90 million. A similar increase occurred in Europe. The major reason for this increase was the introduction of "talking pictures" in 1927.

After Hitler's assent to power in 1933, Germany violated the provisions of the Versailles Treaty and occupied demilitarized areas adjacent to France. Germany and Italy formed an alliance, and Germany

invaded Austria. France and Great Britain allied and promised to help Czechoslovakia. After attempts at appeasement, Germany invaded Czechoslovakia. Britain and France extended assurances to Poland. Germany and Italy allied themselves with Japan and sought a treaty with the Soviet Union. In August 1939, Germany signed a Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union. It included secret protocols on the division of Poland and the Baltic nations and established spheres of influence in other areas of Eastern and Central Europe.

War Erupts

Within a week of the signing of the treaty with the Soviet Union, German troops invaded Poland in September 1939. Europe again found itself at war. During the spring of 1940, Germany quickly conquered Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands and France. During the spring of 1941, Germany and Italy occupied Yugoslavia and Greece. In June 1941, Germany turned on its ally, the Soviet Union. America did not enter the war until Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in Hawaii on December 7, 1941. The phrase "Remember Pearl Harbor" was used frequently as a slogan to gain support for the war effort.

Perhaps because of the criticism by the press of the restrictions during World War I, the restrictions upon the press were less severe during World War II. The first restrictions were placed in effect a year before Pearl Harbor was attacked. These voluntary controls requested that newspapers not publish any information about troop movements or ship construction. Prior to the American entry into World War II, the Army and Navy established censorship plans in case of war. On December 7, 1941, the FBI assumed temporary control of news censorship and telecommunications traffic into or out of the United States. On December 18, Congress passed the War Powers Act which created an Office of Censorship. The office established guidelines called the *Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press*, providing for the voluntary censorship of the news related to troops, planes, ships, war production, armaments, military installations, and weather. As in previous conflicts, military commanders in different theaters further restricted the press. Also prohibited were photographs of American casualties. In addition there was the new problem of how to control radio broadcasts.

In general, censorship during World War II was well-organized and fairly consistent. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, in the regulations for war correspondents in Europe stated, "With regard to publicity, the first essential in military operations is that no information of value shall be given to the enemy. The first essential in newspaper work and broadcasting is wide-open publicity. It is your job and mine to try to reconcile these sometimes diverse considerations." There were 461 reporters and photographers (180 of them Americans) accredited to cover the Normandy invasion, and only 27 journalists actually went ashore with invading troops.

There were problems with censorship. British censorship in Egypt and Burma, and Chinese censorship in Chungking was severely criticized. Many reporters covering Douglas MacArthur, the American General in the Pacific Theater, complained that MacArthur's information officers insisted on his personal glorification. Reporters in general gave the military high marks in spite of severe censorship. Most reporters were personally committed to the broad political objectives of the Allies. Reporters routinely visited the troops, and had contact with generals for "off the record" briefings. Reporters wrote stories, then censors examined what they wrote. Most reporters self-censored their own writing to avoid delays and necessary rewrites. During the war no photograph or film clip included dead

American servicemen.

Newspaper and radio coverage of the war was considered to be the best and fullest the world had ever seen. The press and the military were watchful, but supportive of each other. The military trusted the press with details of military operations, and there were very few reported examples of military secrets being released by correspondents.

The film industry that had begun in the last decade of the nineteenth century expanded rapidly during the first decades of the twentieth century. Newsreels were viewed in movie theaters. By the late 1930's war films developed many of the conventions still associated with it. Many films made during World War II contained stereotypes of Germans, Italians and Japanese. Emerging during the war was the documentary film, including docudrama, which interspersed real film footage with studio-developed dramas.

Student Questions

What roles did the press and media play in World War II?

How did the press serve as a propaganda arm for the government and the military?

What role did communication technology play in World War II?

How did the government and the military enforce censorship and other restrictions on the press?

What might have happened if the press had published photos of the carnage that occurred during World War II?

READING 6E: The Korean Conflict

Background to the Cold War and the Korean Conflict

During World War II, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union had been allied against Germany, Italy and Japan. After the war, zones of military occupation were created in Europe and in Asia. In those areas occupied by Soviet military forces, Marxist-dominated governments were established. Western leaders viewed Soviet actions in eastern and central Europe with alarm. The United States, the United Kingdom and France opposed Soviet expansion, and the World War II alliance broke down, and a Cold War commenced between the Western powers and the Soviet Union. It heated up at particular points along the borders of the Soviet Empire, such as Berlin, which was then situated within East Germany, a communist state propped up by Soviet armies. The creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 assisted in containing Soviet power in Europe. Ironically, Japan, Germany and Italy became our friends during the Cold War, and China and the Soviet Union, allies during World War II, became enemies.

In Asia, the political situation was more confusing. Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Chinese Communist party, had begun a revolution against the nationalist Chinese government in the late 1920's. With Soviet help, the communists overthrew the nationalists during the late 1940's.

Korea was a Japanese colony prior to World War II. When Japan surrendered at the end of the war, Soviet troops entered Northern Korea to disarm Japanese soldiers north of the 38th parallel. In their zone of occupation, the Soviets proclaimed the Korean People's Republic. American troops occupied the Southern Korean peninsula. The Americans helped establish the Republic of Korea south of the 38th parallel. On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops invaded South Korea and quickly overran most of the country. President Truman sent American military forces to repel the invasion. A few days later, resolutions supporting the defense of South Korea were approved by the United Nations Security Council. The military forces of many of America's allies joined in the conflict. After initial American military failures, the North Koreans were pushed back almost to the Chinese border. In December 1950, China sent its military forces into North Korea, sending the United Nation forces back down the peninsula. The war stalemated around the 38th parallel. The conflict ended in an armistice in 1953.

The Press in Korea

During the Korean Conflict, press censorship went through different stages. Censorship was voluntary until the Chinese Army entered the war. U.S. military commanders complained that correspondents had released information about troop movements, recovery of American prisoners from the Chinese and the use of a new combat airplane. Tougher restraints were imposed upon the press. All news stories were required to submit news reports and film to Army and Air Force censors. On March 13, 1951, all news stories and film were also required to be approved by censors in Japan. In January 1953, a Joint Field Press Censorship Group was created that approved all copy and film for transmission to American news media. The highest number of journalists accredited to cover the Korean War was 270.

Also during the Korean Conflict, film makers brought together the World War II conventions and

appended the Cold War ideological crusade against communism.

Television

Following experiments in the 1920's and 1930's, television burst on the scene in the late 1940's. Television had begun war coverage with the Korean war, relying largely on crude maps, approved footage flown in from Japan, and verbal accounts of the story. News organizations were largely uncritical of the war, but the war was rough going for the Americans. American casualties were not shown. Television showed that the struggle was against an Asian enemy who could be killed without guilt but whose numbers and fanaticism made him impossible to defeat. Although crude in its presentation, Korea was the first television war. However, despite widespread viewing, it did not have a particularly large impact upon public perceptions of the Korean War.

Student Questions

What roles did the press and media play during the Korean Conflict?

Did the press serve as a propaganda arm for the government and the military?

What role did communication technology play in the Korean Conflict?

How did the governments and the military enforce censorship and other restrictions on the press?

READING 6F: The Vietnam Conflict

Background

The French colonized Indo-China in the mid-nineteenth century. When France was defeated by Germany in 1940, the Japanese moved in to take control. Facing defeat, Japan granted independence to Vietnam under the leadership of the French-educated Bao Dai, who had been crowned emperor in 1925 by the French. Before French troops arrived to accept the surrender of the Japanese army, Ho Chi-Minh, a Marxist, quickly captured Bao Dai and most population centers in Vietnam. He promptly proclaimed the creation of the Independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam. By agreement, the British occupied southern Vietnam and Chinese occupied the northern half. French forces arrived a few months later. Full scale war between the French and the forces loyal to Ho Chi-Minh broke out the following year. The victory of the Chinese Communists in the summer of 1949 greatly increased Ho Chi-Minh's prospects. The Vietnamese Communists eventually won control over the Northern half of Vietnam in 1954. The United States created the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) which was expected to perform the same role as NATO did in Europe. It included Vietnam as an area to be defended in case of attack by a foreign power. Elections were scheduled for 1956 to unify the country, but the new American-backed leaders in South Vietnam refuse to hold them for fear that the communists would win.

As a communist insurgency emerged in the South, President Eisenhower committed technical, financial and military aid to support the South Vietnamese. President John F. Kennedy increased American involvement during the early 1960's by sending 16,000 advisors. After President Kennedy's assassination, President Lyndon Johnson continued to offer support to South Vietnam. In August 1964, in a controversial incident North Vietnamese torpedo boats attacked an American destroyer in the Gulf of Tonkin. Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution granting Johnson wide discretion to repel armed attack on U.S. forces. Johnson used this resolution as his rationale for greatly increasing American involvement by sending ground troops and a vast air armada which bombed communist-controlled areas in South Vietnam, as well as selective areas of North Vietnam and Laos. These forces rapidly escalated to 525,000 combat troops in Southeast Asia by 1967. The North Vietnamese and their South Vietnamese allies, the Vietcong, kept pace with the American escalation, and victory over the communists appeared to be elusive. The military conflict occurred in small units engaged in a seemingly endless war of attrition.

In 1967, General Westmoreland, commander of the U.S. forces in South Vietnam, called for further reinforcements. Throughout the year intelligence services reported that American and South Vietnamese forces were grinding down the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. However, in January 1968, the Vietcong mounted a huge offensive during the Tet holidays. Every major city in South Vietnam was attacked simultaneously and several towns were held for weeks. The communists were finally repulsed, but the scenes of bloody street fighting shown on television convinced many Americans that the war could not be won.

President Johnson announced that he would not seek re-election and began to disengage American forces from the war. His successor, President Richard Nixon turned the responsibility for the war over

to the South Vietnamese army and continued withdrawing American forces. By 1973, all American ground forces had been withdrawn. The South Vietnamese held on for two years before the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese army overran the South and unified the country. More than 56,000 American military died in the conflict. Estimates vary for total Vietnamese casualties, but roughly one million Vietnamese died and many more were wounded.

The Press and the Military during the Vietnam Conflict

The Vietnam conflict has been called the "uncensored war." When President Lyndon Johnson decided to escalate American involvement in Vietnam, military planners decided against imposing a compulsory censorship plan. At first military officials encouraged the press to pay attention to the conflict and to buttress public support for American intervention. In the second half of the 1960's correspondents had wide access to military units in the field. A voluntary censorship scheme offered guidelines similar to those implemented during World War II. The majority of journalists reporting on the Vietnam conflict complied with the government's censorship policy, but usually shipped their reports out without prior military screening.

At the beginning of the Vietnam conflict, U.S. forces were few in number and journalists knew little of the local political or military situation. As it was a guerilla war, the battlefield was everywhere, and reporters were permitted to roam freely. The largest number of reporters accredited to the Vietnam War was 637 at the height of the Tet offensive in 1968.

At first most reporting was supportive of the war. As the war progressed, many reporters became effective chroniclers of the incredible horror of the conflict. They developed their own sources, and provided a wide set of perspectives. As the war dragged on, and as it became increasing unpopular in the U.S., reporters began to criticize the war effort. Their major criticism was that the military strategies and tactics followed by the American and Vietnamese governments were failing to defeat the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces. These reports left their American audience with few illusions about the high costs and muddled objectives of the war.

This war was broadcast into almost every American home via television. While television had crudely covered the Korean Conflict, Vietnam was America's first television war. It was in color, blood and all. It enjoyed enormous media coverage. The turn around time for viewing events was shortened to 24 to 48 hours.

Some American government officials and many military leaders believed that press reports about Vietnam undermined public support for the policies of President Johnson and later those of President Nixon. Specifically, many people believed that television reporting from the battlefield had a negative impact upon home-front morale. Scenes of carnage brought home the brutal reality of war. Subsequent studies have documented that television coverage of Vietnam reflected a critical view of the war only after public opinion had begun to oppose it. News coverage of antiwar demonstrations did not appear to arouse sympathies of the television audience. Regardless of the reality, many military leaders and their civilian supporters became convinced that they could have won the war if home-front opposition had not restricted military action. They blamed unrestricted reporting for turning the public against the war, denying the military the support and tools it needed to win. Although they blame the press for the failure of the U.S. to win the Vietnam War, none of the critics accused it of any serious security

breaches. Instead, the press was charged with giving the American people information that enabled them to challenge military and civilian leaders and their policies in Vietnam.

Other observers believed that the "credibility gap" caused by the government's failure to be candid with the public about its policy contributed to the opposition to the war. President Lyndon Johnson for a time tried to hide the extent of the American military buildup and repeatedly cast an optimistic gloss on the military effort and on the ability of the South Vietnamese to govern in the face of on-the-scene reporting showing the opposite. At press conferences, reporters were regularly given inflated estimates of enemy casualties, and inaccurate estimates of South Vietnamese control over particular regions. Many journalists believed that the U.S. political and military leaders often provided information that had been misleading, if not totally false. These statements contradicted their own experiences in the field. In addition, because the Vietnam conflict continued for over a decade, the press established a stronger independent presence with many Vietnamese sources. Later, in an official review, the Army said the press had been more accurate than the government.

After the fall of Saigon in 1975, film-makers began to develop a new genre of films highly critical of the war: patriotic motivation ended, the military hierarchy was no longer portrayed in a positive light, and soldier loyalty disintegrated. These films contributed to the counter-myth that media coverage undermined America's ability to fight a war. These movies undermined the romance of war and replaced it with the image of senseless carnage and random death.

The Lessons of Vietnam

Many lessons were learned from the Vietnam War. In 1975, Congress, believing that its Constitutionally-granted war powers had been circumvented, passed the War Powers Act. This required the President to obtain permission from Congress before committing American forces to another war. Most subsequent presidents resented the War Powers Act, which they believed interfered with their Constitutional right as the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

The American military also learned from the Vietnam experience. The first lesson concerned the composition of the military. The majority of those who served and died during conflict were draftees who had little training or experience in combat. The draft was ended and an all-volunteer military was formed. To attract volunteers, more money was pumped into the military and the armed forces became an appealing career option. The second lesson concerned the tactics used in Vietnam. The military developed a new strategy which stressed initiative, depth of operation, and synchronization of all military forces. New tactics emphasized avoiding battles of attrition and accepting risk, using night and poor-weather operations, attacking the enemy's specific vulnerabilities and keeping a battlefield "fluid" through continuous operations. The enemy was to be kept off balance and forced to move in the desired direction. The new military doctrine opposed gradual military escalation and political bargaining if this limited momentum.

The third lesson learned by the military concerned their relations with the press and media. The nation's war colleges have trained officers to become more media-savvy. Many military leaders concluded that in the future there were two wars that the military needed to win: one against the enemy and one against the press. As one military officer said, "Some people say the media is the enemy but in fact the media is really a battlefield and you have to win on it."

Student Questions

What was the relationship between the press and the military during the Vietnam War?

What role did television play during the war?

Why did some members of the press and media oppose American involvement in the Vietnam conflict?

What were the results of the press and media's opposition to the Vietnam War?

Why were many governmental and military leaders upset with the press and media during the war?

READING 6G: American Intervention in Grenada

Background to the American Intervention

Grenada, a small island in the Caribbean, had been taken over by the revolutionary "New Jewel Movement," which was a Marxist party supported by Cuba's communist leader Fidel Castro. In 1983 a military coup overthrew the government and killed the Prime Minister. Grenada was rife with internal turmoil. President Ronald Reagan ordered U.S. forces to invade the island on October 23, 1983, ostensibly to protect the lives of American citizens and to thwart Cuban subversion. The opposition the U.S. forces encountered was less than formidable. Yet, there were serious problems in communications, which had been badly arranged. The equipment, frequencies and procedures of each of the services engaged in the invasion had not matched, and there was no overall joint communications plan.

The Press and the Military in Grenada

In part because of this assessment of the role played by the press and media during the Vietnam conflict, the American military changed the way it dealt with the press. When the U.S. invaded Grenada, the military deliberately barred journalists from access to the area of conflict. The military did release a number of reports on the success of the invasion, but the first independent facts that Americans received were from ham radio operators in Grenada. Two days after the invasion, the military brought a media pool of fifteen correspondents to Grenada. They accepted military censorship in order to gain access to Grenada. After the conflict was over, the military provided guided tours for journalists. On October 30--days after the invasion--all press restrictions were lifted.

Grenada pushed the military into discussion with news executives and reporters about how to arrange coverage of the smaller combat operations. The result was the Sidle Commission Report, named after retired army general Winant Sidle who oversaw the deliberations. It established a set of recommendations governing press-military planning in future operations. These recommendations called for the creation of press pools to protect reporters from fast-moving lethal environments and still ensure in-depth coverage back home. Other major conclusions were: public affairs planning should be conducted concurrently with operational planning; military planning should provide for the largest possible press pool and pools should be only necessary for the least amount of time; a basic tenet should be voluntary compliance by the media with security guidelines, which should be as few as possible; the military should provide for sufficient equipment and military personnel to assist correspondents in covering the operation; all of the media were against escorts who would have the power to censor reports. There was no consensus on whether or not commanders had the right to embargo stories or delay their release to the public.

The first test of the guidelines developed by Sidle Commission came in 1987, after the United States agreed to escort merchant ships through the Persian Gulf. Iran had threatened to attack any commercial vessel in the region. Pools, balanced with newspaper, magazine, wire, radio and television types, were placed on navy destroyers that escorted Kuwaiti tankers registered under the American flag. Most reports made on board the ships were approved for release. Some were held up for a few days and one was changed by a commander of one of the ships. When a tanker was damaged by a mine, a

photographer in a helicopter was refused permission to take a photo which revealed that the American navy ships were behind the damaged tanker that they were supposed to escort.

Student Questions

Why were the press and media excluded from the early stages of the American intervention in Grenada?

Why was the press upset by this exclusion?

Was the exclusion of the media during the first two days of the conflict justified?

READING 6H: American Intervention in Panama

Background

In 1903, the United States government encouraged Panamanian nationalists to revolt against Colombia. With the assistance of the United States Navy, the revolt succeeded and a new nation of Panama was formed. The United States immediately signed a treaty with Panama gaining control over a narrow zone from the Pacific to the Caribbean. The Panama Canal was constructed in the territory which became know as the Canal Zone. Ever since the United States has been closely connected with Panama.

General Manuel Noriega, the commander of the National Guard, took control of Panamanian government in 1981. He had been recruited by the American Central Intelligence Agency to help uncover drug trade passing through from Colombia. Once in power, Noriega made huge profits from the drug trade. He retained power through extreme brutality. In 1988 Noriega was indicted for drug trafficking in the United States. In the Panamanian elections held in May 1989, Guillermo Endara, the leader of the opposition, was elected President, but Noriega falsified the election returns and retained power. Relations between the Noriega government and the United States grew worse. The objectives of the American intervention in Panama were obvious: protection of U.S. citizens; and the installation of a friendly, democratic government. But the question was how to achieve these goals.

The American Invasion

President George Bush decided to overthrow the Panamanian government and arrest Noriega. The mistakes of previous military campaigns were to be avoided. Unlike the Vietnam War, more than enough military force was to be sent in to overwhelm Noriega's Panamanian Defense Forces (PDF). Communications systems were agreed upon in advance to avoid the problems in Grenada intervention. The air force sent in its new Stealth Fighters, and more than sufficient troops to accomplish their objectives without getting bogged down as in Vietnam. More than 24,000 highly experienced and trained forces invaded Panama from the U.S. controlled Canal Zone or were flown in from the United States. The PDF was quickly over powered and Noriega was apprehended after a few days. The United States installed Endara as the President of Panama.

The Consequences of the War

There were only 23 U.S. military casualties during the invasion. The estimate of Panamanian casualties varies from 202 to more than 4,000 dead. A CBS poll showed that 92% of the Panamanians supported the invasion. Noriega was brought to the United States, where he was tried and convicted of drug trafficking. Despite the hope that the American invasion would eliminate the Panamanian drug trade, trafficking in Panama since the invasion increased over pre-invasion levels.

The Press and the Military during the Invasion

The Sidle guidelines remained in effect during the American invasion of Panama in December 1989. The U.S. Secretary of Defense, Richard Cheney, was deeply worried about leaks in the pending

invasion. He decided not to notify the media pool, a group of sixteen reporters who would cover the invasion for all the news organizations, until it would be impossible for reporters to make it to Panama in time for the start of the invasion. After the invasion had begun, the military flew the reporters to Panama. They arrived four to eight hours after the invasion had begun. Despite their presence in Panama, pool members were consistently delayed from covering the fighting, and were only escorted to the areas of the conflict after the fighting was already over. Later, the Pentagon's spokesperson Pete Williams conceded that it took too long to get reporters to the scene of action. Reporters in Panama were only able to provide telephone reports from the hotel. Two reporters ventured forth and both were wounded, one of whom later died. The military reviewed pool stories, but there were no censorship problems.

In an official Pentagon inquiry, Cheney was faulted for an "excessive concern for secrecy." As the invasion was generally a low-cost victory, the media had little alternative but to declare it a success. However, media precedents established in Grenada and Panama later caused problems in the Gulf War.

Student Questions

Why was the press excluded the first few hours during the American intervention in Panama?

Why were the press and media prevented from witnessing areas of conflict once they arrived in Panama?

Why was the military deeply suspicious of the media?

ACTIVITY 7: Summing Up, The Press in Wartime

Introduction

This activity pulls together the previous six activities and helps solidify the major objectives of this unit.

Student Objectives

- To understand the differing relationships among the media and the military during wartime.
- To understand the different functions of the press and electronic media during wartime.
- To examine the role of technology in the relationship between the press and the military.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Poster paper and markers

Recommended Procedures

1. Divide the class into groups of six or seven students and give each group a poster sheet and a marker.
2. Ask the students to list the technological advances that effected reporting during the previously mentioned conflicts. Students should note such changes as telegraph, improved transportation systems (railroads, steamships, airplanes), inventions (radio, television, film). Ask the students to note briefly how these changes might have influenced the relationship between the reporters and the military during wartime.
3. Ask each group to report upon their conclusions. The students should understand that improved transportation and communications technologies have raised the question of the protection of military operations which often depend upon surprise. New communication inventions greatly decreased the amount of time between the event on a battlefield and the presentation of an account in a newspaper or in electronic media. Electronic media, particularly television, can have a powerful influence upon public opinion during the conflict.
4. Ask the students how these changes influence the concept of a free press. Ask them to consider what these changes suggest for democracy in the United States.

International Conflict and the Media

ACTIVITY 8: Images of the Gulf War

Introduction

This activity is intended as a diagnostic tool. Almost all adults have some television images of the Gulf conflict: the Scud and Patriot missiles, the bombing of Iraq, press conferences, the Iraqi hostages and prisoners, the victory marches after the war, etc. Many older students will also have television memories of the war. Some students, may have parents or relatives who were involved in the war. These students will remember the conflict without extensive prodding. This activity is especially geared for these students. It permits them to remember and begin to organize those memories. This unit will build upon those images and help students place some of them into a broader context.

Many other students, particularly those who were very young during 1990-91, may have little or no recall of any of the events surrounding the war. This activity should probably not be used with these students.

Student Objectives

- To remember and relate the images of the Gulf War.
- To organize those images into categories.
- To introduce the unit.

Time

20 minutes to 1 class period

Materials

Poster paper and markers or a chalkboard

Recommended Procedures

1. Ask the students if they remember the Gulf War. For older students, this question will be enough to elicit numerous comments of buildings blowing up, etc. If the students are hazy about the conflict, offer some factual information in hopes of encouraging discussion. One student's memories and images will often elicit other students to join in the discussion. Let the students offer images in whatever order they have them and attempt to place no positive or negative evaluation on their comments as they are raised. There will be several opportunities to evaluate these images as the unit progresses. If the students repeat the same recollection offered previously, accept it without comment and add it to the list.
2. Write a brief summary of their statements down on the poster paper or chalkboard.
3. After the students have finished, try to organize the comments into the following categories:

Causes of the Gulf War

Incidents and Events in the War (Most images will appear here.)

Consequences of the Gulf War

Sources of Information about the Gulf War

Actors

Motivations and Expectations

4. Probe further. Ask the students why they think the war began. List their responses under **Causes of the Gulf War**.
5. Ask the students what were the consequences of the war. Add their responses to the category **Consequences of the Gulf War**.
6. Finally, ask students how they know about the Gulf War. Most will respond that they saw it on television. Some will report that they read about it in newspapers or magazines. Other students might remember their parents, friends or teachers discussing the war. List their responses under the category, **Sources of Information about the War**.
7. Save the poster sheets. If you have used a chalkboard, copy them and save them for use in Activity 14.

International Conflict and the Media

ACTIVITY 9: Geography of the Middle East

Introduction

Most students will be unfamiliar with the political and physical characteristics of the Middle East. Maps are models of reality which cannot include all information, but emphasize particular features. The maps in this activity focus upon those features which became important during the Gulf War.

Student Objectives

- To understand the geographic characteristics in the Middle East that were important during the Gulf War.
- To understand the religious and ethnic divisions in the Middle East.
- To understand the historical transitions that the Middle East has undergone since World War I.
- To understand the importance of Middle Eastern oil.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Copies of Maps 9A-C for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Map 9A, **Urban Population Centers**. Ask the students to name the major population centers of the Middle East. Answers should include: Egypt, Iraq, Iran and Syria. The students should note the relatively low populations of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.
2. Distribute Map 9B, **Religions of the Middle East**. Ask the students to name the religions in the Middle East. Answers should include: Muslims, divided into two sects (Sunni and Shiite), Jews and Christians (Orthodox, Catholic and Coptic). Ask the students to name the important religious centers for these religions. Answers should include: Jerusalem (for Jews, Christians, and Muslims); Mecca and Qom (Muslim); and Istanbul (Orthodox Christian).
3. Distribute Map 9C, **Proven Oil Reserves**. Ask the students to consider:

What is the importance of oil in the United States, Western Europe and Japan?

What percentage of known oil reserves are in the Middle East?

How important is Middle Eastern oil for Europe and the United States?

Note:

The students should note that there is a difference between oil reserves and oil production. In 1990, the largest oil producers were the Soviet Union and the United States. Despite its large production of oil, the United States was a major oil importer. It was likely that American dependence on imported oil would increase during subsequent years.

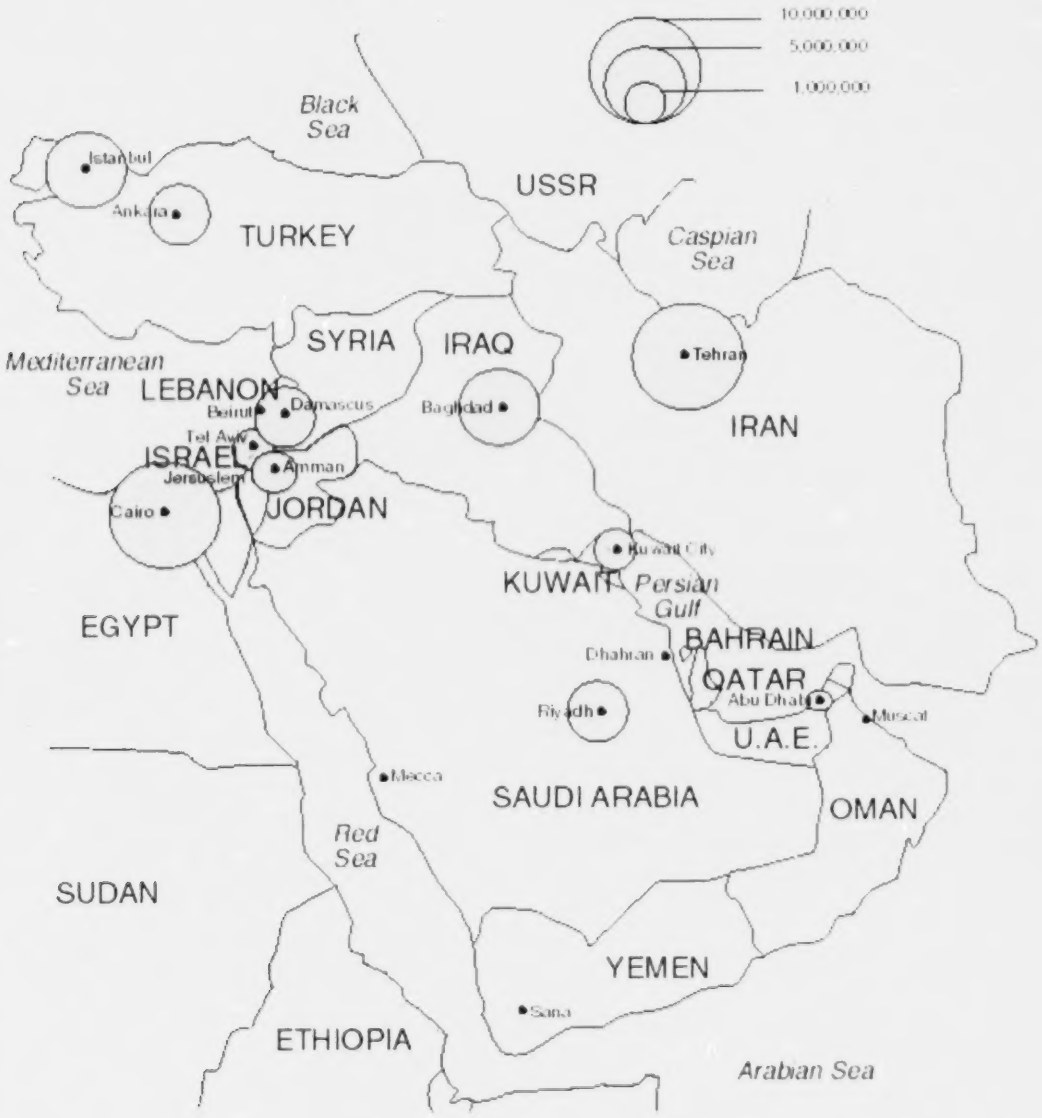
While the Soviet Union did export oil in 1990, Soviet oil production was declining and projections indicated that they would soon become an oil importer. In addition, Western Europe and Japan imported oil extensively from the Middle East. Hence, Middle Eastern oil was extremely important for the West, and would be increasingly significant in the future.

The students may not be familiar with the demise of the Soviet Union that occurred shortly after the Gulf War. Although the Soviet Empire had disintegrated by the Gulf War, the Soviet Union continued to exist. Shortly after the end of the Gulf War, the Soviet Union disintegrated and broke into 15 separate nations, the largest being Russia.

Activity 9, Geography of the Middle East

MAP 9A

Approximate urban population in 1988



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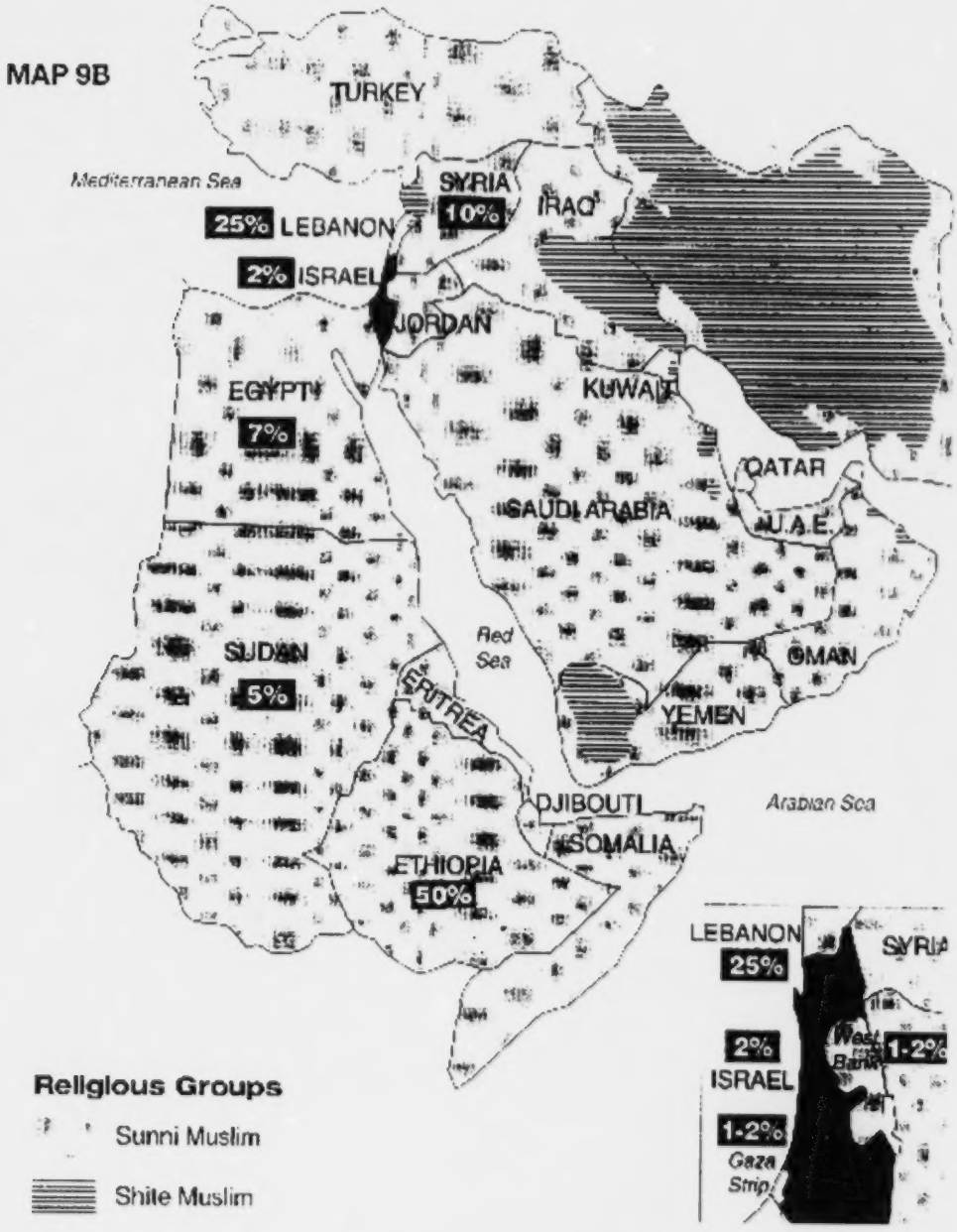

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Activity 9, Geography of the Middle East

MAP 9C

Proven reserves of crude oil at the end of the 1980s

In billions of barrels

Arab countries 600

North America	44
Latin America	122
Europe (including USSR)	78
Rest of Africa	20
Rest of Asia (including China)	138

ACTIVITY 10: Historical Context

Introduction

Many problems in the Middle East emerged due to World War I. World War I saw the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of colonial mandates in many areas of the Middle East. During the war, the British promised a national home for the Jews with the proviso that non-Jewish communities in Palestine would not be disrupted. From this ambiguous promise many of the subsequent Arab-Israeli conflicts emerged. It is important that the students understand that frequently conflicts are often caused by solutions to previous wars.

Student Objectives

- To understand that many of today's political divisions in the Middle East were a result of the break up of the Turkish Empire after World War I.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Copies of Reading 10 and Maps 10A-D for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Reading 10 to each student and ask them to read it either in class or for homework.
2. Distribute Map 10A, **Pre-World War I Map of the Middle East** and Map 10B, **The Middle East, circa 1926**. Ask the students to note the differences in these maps. Answers should include the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of French Mandates in Syria and Lebanon; British Mandates in Palestine and Jordan; and creation of Saudi Arabia, and Iraq.
3. Distribute Map 10C, **Muslim Population, circa 1990**. Ask the students what changes occurred since 1926. Answers should include: the creation of Israel; the independence of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Kuwait; the union of Yemen and Aden. Ask the students to name the important cities in the Middle East. Answers should include: Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, Baghdad and Tehran.
4. Distribute Map 10D, **The Gulf Region circa 1990**. Ask the students to name the important cities in Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Answers include: Baghdad, Basra, Kuwait City, and the Kuwaiti island of Bubiyan.

Activity 10, Historical Context

READING 10: Historical Background to the Middle East

Prior to World War I much of the Middle East was part of the Ottoman Empire, controlled by the Turks. When Turkey sided with the Germans and Austrians during the war, the British encouraged the Arabs to rebel against Turkish authorities. The Arab revolt was supported with British armaments and some advisors, including the famous "Lawrence of Arabia." It initially succeeded in the religiously important cities of Mecca and Medina in the Arabian Peninsula. British troops expelled the Turkish military from Palestine, Syria and Lebanon. When the war was over, France occupied Syria and Lebanon; Great Britain controlled Egypt, Jordan and Palestine.

To gain support of Jews during World War I, the British signed a secret agreement (the Balfour Declaration) with Zionists, permitting the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. Jews migrated to Palestine in increasing numbers during the 1920's and 1930's. Strife among the British colonial authorities, the Jews and Arabs erupted during the 1930's. To avoid further problems, British authorities unsuccessfully tried to prevent further Jewish immigration.

The poorest and least developed area of the Middle East was the vast desert in the middle of the Arabian Peninsula. This area was controlled by various poverty-stricken Bedouin clans. During the 1920's, a large portion of this desert was unified by Ibn Saud, a leader of an important family in the Arabian Peninsula. The discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia and in other Gulf sheikdoms changed the economic prospects of the peninsula.

Iraq was created from three separate provinces after the fall of the Turkish empire in World War I. The British were given a mandate over Iraq by the League of Nations which they exercised from 1920 until 1932. Iraq became independent in 1932, but remained closely tied economically and militarily to Great Britain. During World War II Great Britain intervened in Iraq and restored a pro-British government.

Kuwait was an autonomous sheikhdom established in the eighteenth century by the al-Sabah family. It was part of Turkish Empire until 1897, when it became a British protectorate. The Turks declared that Kuwait was a part of Basra Province, but recognized its autonomy in 1913. Oil production began in the 1940's.

Iran is a Moslem nation, but is Persian and not Arab. Although Iran was nominally independent prior to World War II, it had signed a treaty with Great Britain that excluded foreign influences. During World War II, the leader of Iran, the Shah, was pro-German, and the allies needed Iranian oil. To avoid a German take over in Iran, southern Iran was occupied by Great Britain and the northern half was occupied by the Soviet Union. The Shah abdicated in favor of his son. British and Soviet troops departed in 1946. In 1953 the Shah sought support from Britain and the United States to help put down an internal nationalist rebellion. In 1955 Iran joined the Baghdad Pact with Iraq and Turkey, which was aimed toward thwarting Soviet expansion in the Middle East.

After World War II, the British were attacked by the Jews because of their curtailment of Jewish immigration to Palestine and their failure to create a Jewish national homeland as promised during World War I. Concurrently, they were assailed by Arabs for agreeing to the Balfour Declaration and

permitting Jewish immigration. Great Britain decided to grant independence to Palestine and Jordan. As armed conflict had commenced between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine, the British conveniently shuffled the problem over to the newly created international organization, the United Nations. A plebiscite was held and a partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states was recommended. Although no agreement had been reached, Britain withdrew its military forces on May 14, 1948, and war broke out between the Jews and the Arabs. Arab armies from Syria, Jordan and Egypt invaded Palestine. The end consequence of the war was the division of Palestine into a Jewish nation, Israel, and Arab areas. The Gaza strip was administered by Egypt and the West Bank and part of Jerusalem was given to Jordan.

Oil increasingly became important in the Persian Gulf. In 1960, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was created to increase oil prices and the amount of revenues. Those who attended the first meeting were all Arab nations. As oil revenues increased, Arab nations containing oil grew rich, while those Arab nations without oil became increasingly poor.

In 1958, Abd al-Karim Qassem overthrew the moderate pro-western Iraqi government and withdrew from the Baghdad Pact. When Britain granted independence to Kuwait in 1961, Iraq refused to recognize the new nation claiming that it was a part of Iraq. Iraq threatened Kuwait over a border dispute, and Britain sent troops and ships to protect it. Iraq backed down, but continued to press Kuwait, particularly to lease the strategic islands of Warba and Bubiyan in Persian Gulf. Qassem was assassinated in 1963 and Iraq's new government recognized Kuwait's independence.

Inside Iraq, the Baath party came to power in 1968. One leader of the party was Saddam Hussein. He had been born in 1937 to a poor, landless, peasant family in Takrit. His family was Sunni Moslems. In 1956 Saddam participated in an unsuccessful coup against the Baghdad monarchy. The following year he joined the Baath Party, which promoted nationalist and secular goals. Saddam was a member of the hit team which tried unsuccessfully to assassinate Qassem in 1959. Saddam left Iraq and moved to Egypt. When Qassem was finally assassinated, Saddam returned to Iraq. He quickly rose to prominence in the Baath Party and the power shifted to him during the 1970's. As the leader of Iraq, he repressed his own people, particularly the Kurds, who lived in northern Iraq. In 1979 he became the President of Iraq, and immediately began to develop chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

Student Questions

What were some of the most important trends in the Middle Eastern history in the Twentieth Century?

Why was the West interested in the Middle East?

Why did Saddam Hussein want to develop chemical, biological and nuclear weapons?

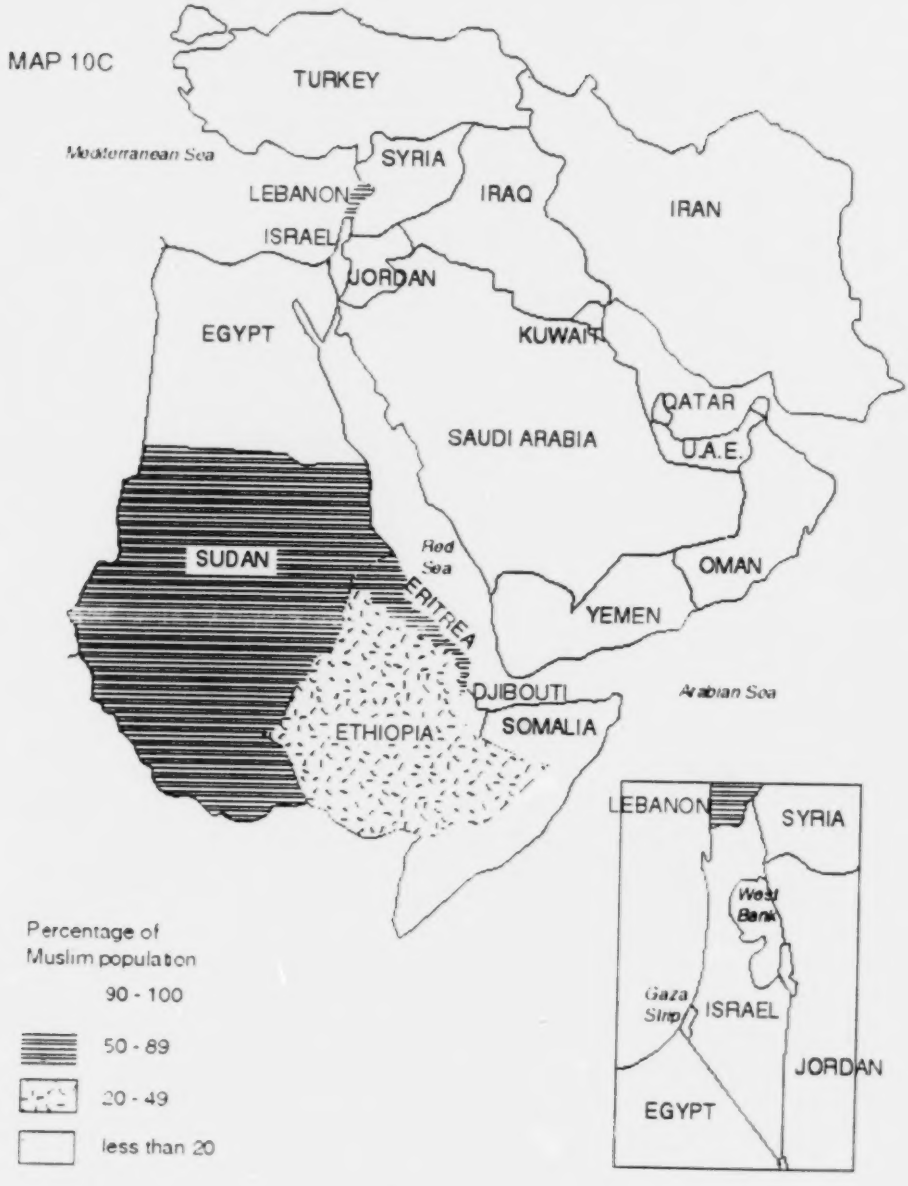
Activity 10, Historical Context

MAP 10A Pre World War 1

Activity 10, Historical Context

MAP 10B The Middle East, 1926

Activity 10, Historical Context



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Activity 10, Historical Context

MAP 10D The Gulf Region (circa 1990)

International Conflict and the Media

ACTIVITY 11: The Political Context

Introduction

Most Americans have little understanding of the intractable problems in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. These three Readings give some political context to very difficult issues. There are many important Middle Eastern problems however, that are not dealt with in these readings. The purpose of these readings is to give a brief political context for the second Persian Gulf War. It is important for students to see that the events of this war are closely connected with the events in the Middle East and the fall of communism.

Student Objectives

- To understand that events in the Middle East are interconnected to other parts of the world.
- To understand that the Gulf War that broke out in 1990 was closely connected with prior events, particularly the 10-year war between Iran and Iraq which began in 1980.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Copies of Reading 11A-C; one Reading for each group

Recommended Procedures

1. Divide the class into three groups. Distribute copies of one Reading to each group (11A, 11Band 11C). Ask the students to read and discuss the Reading in their group. After about 20 minutes, ask each group to assign a spokesperson to report to the class on the developments that relate to their reading.
2. After the three reports, ask the students what were the relationships between events in Europe and those in the Middle East. The students should see that the Middle East has been interconnected with events in Europe for a long time (i.e., colonial relationships, World War I, World War II, the end of the Cold War, etc.).
3. Ask the students what were the connections between the problems of the Middle East and those of the Persian Gulf. The students should understand that the Arab-Israeli conflict has influenced events in the Persian Gulf.
4. Ask the students whom the Western nations and the Soviet Union supported during the Persian Gulf War.

READING 11A: Problems in the Middle East

By far the most important continuing problem in the Middle East during the last half century has been the tension between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The first Arab-Israeli war in 1948 ended in a cease fire, but not peace. Additional wars erupted between Israel and Arab countries in 1955, 1967 and 1973. During the 1967 war, Israel occupied the Gaza strip, the West Bank, and Egypt's Sinai desert. During the 1973 war, Arab nations refused to sell oil to Western nations. This crisis caused oil prices to explode. In the United States, cars waited in long lines to acquire gas when it was available.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), led by Yasser Arafat, was an umbrella organization for various Palestinian groups created by the Arab League in 1964. After the 1967 war the PLO began confronting Israel through terrorism and armed struggle directly against Israel. Many Palestinian refugees fled to Jordan and Lebanon.

Jordan, like most non-oil producing countries in the Middle East, was in deep economic trouble. In Jordan, the PLO tried to take control of the Jordanian government. King Hussein of Jordan suppressed the Palestinians and expelled the PLO in September 1970. The PLO established its headquarters in Lebanon, and continued to launch raids against Israel.

Lebanon had received its independence from France in 1946. For two decades Lebanon functioned as a democracy with a Constitutional balance between Christians and Moslems. During the 1960's the balance disintegrated. In 1975, a Civil War erupted, with numerous factions of Christians, Moslems, Palestinians and Druse vying for power. In 1990, a peace settlement was reached which called upon Syria to maintain a major military force in Lebanon.

In 1979, Egypt and Israel began negotiations to resolve their differences under the sponsorship of President Jimmy Carter at Camp David in the United States. These negotiations led to the Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai and the exchange of Ambassadors between the two nations. Due to this peace arrangement, Egypt was isolated from the Arab world. Militant Arab nations, such as Syria and Iraq, broke relations with Egypt, and Egypt was removed from membership in the Arab League, an organization promoting unity among Arab countries.

In 1982 Israeli forces invaded Lebanon with the intent of ousting the PLO, which had used bases in the southern Lebanon to attack Israeli settlements in northern Israel. Finding itself in a quagmire, Israel gradually disengaged from Lebanon.

The Israeli disengagement led to the decision by President Ronald Reagan to send American Marines into Beirut in 1983 with tragic results. The Marines left the following year after an Arab suicide bomber blew up the Marine barracks. This failure led to a reappraisal within the Reagan Administration regarding the future use of American troops. In 1984, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger concluded that American military force should not be used unless: it was vital to America's national interest; the commitment was made to win the conflict; there were clearly defined military objectives; the military had the full support of the American people; and military conflict should be only as the last resort.

Another important factor that influenced events in the Middle East was the fall of European communism. Communist regimes in eastern and central Europe began falling in 1989, along with the Berlin Wall. The end of the Cold War meant a relaxation of tensions in Europe, and a spirit of cooperation between the West and the Soviet Union developed. For the Middle East, this change in Europe had two major effects. First, the decline of the Soviet Union meant the weakening of influence upon the militant Arab nations, who had received large amounts of Soviet arms and aid. This weakening of influence of the militant Arab states in turn meant the reincorporation of Egypt into the mainstream politics. Egypt was readmitted to the Arab League, and Syria reestablished full diplomatic relations with Egypt.

The second effect of the fall of communism was the relaxation of the Soviet Union's policy of restricting Jewish immigration to Israel. A mass exodus of Soviet Jews ensued, reaching the staggering total of more than 10,000 per month. The resulting demographic shift greatly strengthens Israel's long-term strategic position in the Middle East. Israel increased Jewish immigration to the occupied Arab areas in Gaza and the West Bank.

Palestinians in the West Bank campaigned against the Israeli occupation. They launched an uprising, or *intifada*, in December 1987. King Hussein of Jordan feared that Israel might force the Palestinians living in the West Bank to flee to Jordan, thus making room for the new Soviet immigrants who were pouring into Israel. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein took advantage of these concerns and gathered Arab leaders to address these issues. This conference forged closer ties between Iraq, Jordan and the leaders of the PLO, but the Arab world was deeply divided and no action was taken.

Student Questions

What are some of the recent trends in the Middle East?

Why would events in Europe effect events in the Middle East?

What would you predict for the future of the Middle East based upon these recent events?

READING 11B: Problems in the Persian Gulf

There were many problems in the Middle East in addition to the Arab-Israeli conflict. There was also a growing resurgence of Moslem fundamentalism. Opposition to the Iranian Shah strengthened during the 1960's and 1970's. The major opposition came from religious leaders, particularly Islamic fundamentalist Ayatollah Khomeini, who taught and preached at a religious school in the holy city of Qom. Islamic fundamentalism was an effort by some Moslems to restore the primacy of Islam and Islamic values in daily life as expressed in the Koran. Khomeini was the leader of the Islamic fundamentalists in Iran. The Shah arrested him several times and he was finally exiled. From exile Khomeini issued a barrage of propaganda against the Shah. In January 1978, demonstrations on behalf of Khomeini rocked Qom. Protests escalated in other cities, including Teheran, the capitol. In January 1979, the pro-Western Shah left Iran. The anti-Western Ayatollah Khomeini triumphantly returned from exile. He quickly assumed power in Iran. On April 1, 1979, Khomeini declared Iran to be an Islamic Republic. He and other clerics assumed control of the government. They ruled ruthlessly, executing military and political leaders who had supported the Shah. This greatly weakened Iran's military establishment and devastated the economy. American sanctions also weakened the Iranian economy and military preparedness. Simultaneously, Khomeini fomented rebellion among the Shiite minorities in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain.

Relations between Iran and Iraq deteriorated. Khomeini fomented religious rebellions in Iraq because he opposed Saddam Hussein's secular Baathist regime. Iran also goaded the Kurdish population in Iraq to revolt against Saddam Hussein's government. Saddam ruthlessly crushed all internal opposition and responded by encouraging the Kurds in northern Iran to revolt. Khomeini attacked the Kurds, but his weakened military forces were unable to overcome their opposition.

Simultaneously, Khomeini began a concerted verbal attack upon the United States, which had strongly supported the Shah and had been responsible for the introduction of Western ideas into Iran. The American embassy was taken by radical students and the fifty-two embassy personnel were held hostage for 444 days. President Carter suffered a dramatic decline in prestige as reporters and journalists pressured him to tell the American public what he was going to do to free the hostages. An American attempt to rescue the hostages failed miserably. Carter lost his bid for re-election and the Iranians released the hostages on the day Ronald Reagan was sworn in as President.

On September 22, 1980--twenty months after Khomeini came to power--Iraq invaded Iran expecting a swift victory due to the chaotic conditions in Iran. Far from a swift and easy victory, Iraq's attack launched the longest and bloodiest war in modern Middle Eastern history. In the course of eight years more than half a million people died and large areas of both countries were devastated. The immediate cause of the conflict was the Shatt al-Arab waterway between Iran and Iraq. Iraq controlled one bank and Iran the other. This dispute goes back to the nineteenth century. In 1937 it was settled in favor of Iraq. The Shah tore up the agreement in 1969 and occupied the disputed area with military force. In the Algiers Agreement in 1975, both nations agreed that the demarcation between them would be the midpoint of the river.

The main goal of Saddam Hussein's attack was the capture of the Iranian refinery at Abadan, which

controlled the mouth of the Shatt al-Arab. If Iraq occupied both sides, Iraq could then control the Iranian oil tankers that used the waterway. Iraqi military forces made swift gains, but were unable to take Abadan. Iranians defended their territory fanatically. In the spring of 1982, the Iranian military gained the initiative. Using human wave tactics, Iranian soldiers pushed the invaders back into Iraq. The Iranian military occupied territory in Iraq, including land surrounding the Southern town of Basra, Iraq's second largest city. To prevent a defeat, Iraq used poison gas, which blunted the Iranian invasion.

Iraq had a huge advantage over Iran in its quantity and quality of artillery weapons. Iraq developed fixed defenses composed of mine fields, barbed wire, buried tanks and thousands of anti-infantry weapons. Iranian human wave tactics against entrenched Iraqi positions resulted in the heavy loss of life: Iraq killed 20,000 to 30,000 Iranian soldiers in some battles.

Syria supported Iran and Israel gave some behind the scenes support to the Iranians. Both the United States and the Soviet Union were interested in containing Iran, and hence they supported Iraq. Iraq borrowed billions of dollars from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to buy weapons to prevent the Iranian army from gaining the upper hand. Iraq also pressured the United Arab Emirates (UAE). When Saddam Hussein believed that the UAE was not giving enough support, he sent aircraft 600 miles to bomb two UAE oil rigs in the Persian Gulf.

Toward the end of 1987, Iraq employed long-range Scud missiles to attack Iranian cities. As the missiles were highly inaccurate, they hit mainly civilian targets in Iran and were considered as a terrorist weapon of little military value. On the ground, the Iranian military was unable to mount additional offensives. Iraq took the initiative and began pushing Iranian military units from Iraqi territory. In their last major land battle 65,000 Iranians died.

When Iraq began attacking Iranian oil fields, the Iranian military retaliated against Iraqi oil refineries and against commercial oil tankers in the Gulf. Iranian aircraft attacked Kuwaiti tankers, because Iran believed that Kuwait was supporting Iraq. The United States naval vessels began escorting Kuwaiti tankers out of the Persian Gulf. By mistake one of the United States naval ships shot down an Iranian airliner in July 1988. Khomeini concluded that the war needed to be brought to an end, and Iran accepted the U.N.-brokered cease fire on July 18, 1988. An estimated 500,000 Iranians and Iraqis died during the war.

Saddam Hussein interpreted the war as a victory. He immediately crushed the dissident Kurds in northern Iraq. Chemical weapons were used by the Iraqis against civilians in villages. The Kurdish rebellion was crushed. More than 100,000 Kurdish refugees fled into Turkey.

Student Questions

Why did Iraq invade Iran?

What were the results of the Iraq-Iran War?

How might the Iraq-Iran War contribute to subsequent wars in the Middle East?

Why did Western nations and the Soviet Union support Iraq?

READING 11C: The Immediate Causes of the Gulf War

In many ways the Gulf War was an outgrowth of previous Middle East tensions and conflicts. The most important conflict had been the Iranian-Iraqi War. To finance the war, Iraq borrowed 80 billion dollars, mainly from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Saddam Hussein stated that Iraq was defending all Arab states in the Persian Gulf and therefore wanted them to forgive the loans. They refused.

Iraq was desperate. The nation's economy had been ruined by the war with Iran. The investment needed to repair the damage was estimated to cost 230 billion dollars. To revive the economy, Iraq's one million man army needed to be demobilized, but this could not happen because there were no jobs. Saddam was under increasing pressure, and knew that if he did not begin to resolve Iraq's problems he would likely be overthrown. Saddam increasingly became erratic. In April 1990, Saddam stated that Iraq had chemical weapons and threatened to burn half of Israel if he was attacked by Israel. The United States State Department declared that the speech was "inflammatory, irresponsible and outrageous." Saddam responded by saying if Israel did not attack Iraq, Iraq would not attack Israel.

Iraq also threatened Kuwait. The Iranian-Iraqi War had convinced Iraq of the importance of access to the Persian Gulf. Two uninhabited Kuwaiti islands controlled Iraq's access to the Gulf and Iraq pressed Kuwait to lease the islands. Likewise, part of the border between Iraq and Kuwait had not been agreed upon. Iraq claimed that Kuwait was pumping oil from this area, and wanted the territorial dispute settled to Iraq's advantage.

When Kuwait and other Arab countries refused to forgive the debts, the only way that Iraq could pay off these loans was to pay with oil revenues. The Iraqi oil industry was the major income producer, but it barely covered Iraq's then current defense budget. In OPEC, Iraq favored restricting oil production, thus increasing the price of oil. Opposed to the Iraqi position were Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) who favored lower oil prices in hopes of ending the global recession. They believed that, if the recession ended, oil prices would then increase.

Saddam Hussein believed that Kuwait and the UAE were producing too much oil, thereby depressing the price on world markets and decreasing Iraqi oil profits. Kuwait and the UAE refused to reduce their oil production. Iraq threatened both. The UAE, remembering the Iraqi attack on its oil wells in 1986, asked the United States to secretly supply two large aircraft to assist in protecting their oil rigs in the Persian Gulf. The United States agreed and announced joint naval maneuvers with the UAE.

The U.S. State Department asserted that there was "no place for coercion and intimidation in a civilized world." The United States was committed to "the individual and collective-defense of our friends in the Gulf with whom we have deep and longstanding ties." On July 25, 1990, Saddam charged that the United States was supporting Kuwait's economic war against Iraq. He asked the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, what this statement meant. Glaspie reported to Saddam that there was no hostility toward Iraq. In fact, she had been instructed to seek better relations with Iraq. She believed that Iraq's differences with Kuwait should be resolved by Arabs, and that the United States could only support the settlement of the outstanding issues by peaceful means. Saddam encouraged her to believe that the

crisis had blown over. He pledged not to use force. Glaspie left Iraq and returned to the United States for a vacation.

In private discussions, Saddam told King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and Hosni Mubarak, president of Egypt, that Iraq had no intention of using military force against Kuwait. But Kuwait had fabulous oil wealth, and was a tempting prize. With Kuwait in Saddam's hands, Iraq could pay its debts and begin a major reconstruction effort. Saddam Hussein, who controlled the fourth largest army in the world, decided to take a gamble. In late July 1990, Iraq moved 100,000 troops to its border with Kuwait. Most observers concluded this was another attempt to intimidate Kuwait to give into Iraq's demands. These observers were wrong.

Student Questions

Was the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait inevitable?

What other solutions could there have been for Iraq?

Why did Saddam Hussein promise not to use force to settle its dispute with Kuwait?

International Conflict and the Media

ACTIVITY 12: The Gulf War, Operation Desert Shield

Introduction

Students may not remember much about the Gulf War, although many may recall television images of the war. Activities 9 & 10 gave the students some basic information about the war. We recommend that you use one of the videos available in many film catalogues. Many of these videos were made in the aftermath of the war and are very patriotic in their coverage. One excellent video is CBS's "Desert Triumph," which has also been converted into an episode in the Cable Television series "This Century." A video would refresh students' recollections of the war and create a body of images that will be used in subsequent activities. A list of Gulf War videos can be found at the end of the book.

Student Objectives

- To have a basic understanding of the sequence of events during the Gulf War prior to the beginning of the air war in January 1991.
- To understand the role played by the United Nations during the War.
- To examine the response of the United States and in particular of President Bush to the crisis.
- To examine the alternatives to the Gulf War.

Time

1-3 class periods

Materials

Copies of Readings 12A-C for each student; poster paper and markers; VCR; video on the Gulf War

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Readings 12A and 12B and ask the students to read them for homework.
2. In class, review the events of Desert Shield. Ask the students to consider:

   What was the role of the United Nations during the war?

   Could the war have been won if the United Nations had not supported the U.S.-led effort?

   What was the role of the U.S.? Of President Bush?

   Would there have been a war if the U.S. had not taken the lead in expelling the Iraqis from Kuwait?

Could the United States have succeeded without the support of its allies?

What probably would have been the results had there been no war?

3. On a sheet of poster paper, note the students' responses to the following:

   Why did Saddam invade Kuwait?

   What did he expect would be the consequences of this attack?

4. On a second sheet, note the students' responses to the following:

   Why did the U.S. become involved in the Gulf War?

   What did President Bush expect to be the consequences of American involvement?

5. If you use a video, ask the to check off the events noted in Reading 12B as they are mentioned in the video. Also, you might want to stop the video before it begins on the air war to discuss the above issues.
6. Distribute Reading 12C. All the selections quoted in this Reading present non-American perspectives on events during the Gulf War. Students should be able to understand the perspective of the writer, even if they disagree with it. You may wish to cut off the sources of the article and let the students guess whether or not the selection was written by pro-Iraqi, pro-Coalition or neutral writers. Some students may be able to guess the country in which the article appeared based upon internal evidence.
7. Ask the students how the perspectives expressed in these selections agree or disagree with those noted in Reading 12A. Ask the students why these perspectives might differ.
8. Save the poster sheets for use in Activity 13.

Activity 12, The Gulf War, Operation Desert Shield

READING 12A: The Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait. While Iraq may have had some legitimate differences with Kuwait, its invasion was clearly a violation of international law. Perhaps more significant than international law, was Kuwait's vast oil wealth. Kuwait possessed about 10% of the world's known oil reserve. With this reserve, Iraq would control 20% of the world's known oil. While this amounted to only about 15% of the entire production of oil, it was enough to manipulate the world oil price. Higher oil prices would have fueled inflation and deepened the world recession. In addition, Iraq would be in a position to threaten Saudi Arabia which controlled another 20% of the world's oil and over 21% of the world's total oil production.

Iraq's invading army quickly overwhelmed the small Kuwaiti military who had not been mobilized for fear of inciting Iraq to invade. Within hours of their invasion, Iraq military forces occupied Kuwait City. Kuwait's leader, the Emir, escaped to Saudi Arabia as did some of Kuwaiti's air force and other military forces. Undisciplined Iraqi soldiers systematically looted Kuwait City. Kuwaitis who were believed to support the Emir's government in exile were rounded up and imprisoned. Some Kuwaitis fought against the Iraqi occupation. Those captured by Iraqi were tortured and executed. The Iraqis committed numerous other atrocities against Kuwaiti civilians.

Iraq's 100,000 man military force in Kuwait was much greater than necessary to hold the country. These forces, along with 800 tanks, established positions close to the Saudi border, and new elements of Iraq's one million man army moved toward Kuwait. The total Saudi army was about 70,000 men of which only one thousand were deployed along its northern border with Kuwait and Iraq. If Iraq invaded Saudi Arabia, intelligence sources estimated that Iraqi military forces could occupy the Saudi oil fields and its capitol, Riyadh, within three days.

Four hours after Iraq invaded Kuwait, President George Bush froze Kuwaiti assets in the United States to prevent their control by Iraq, and ordered economic sanctions against Iraq. These sanctions banned all trade or other financial contact between the United States and Iraq. Four days after the invasion, the President declared: "This will not stand, this aggression against Kuwait."

To gain the support of the American people, a concerted effort was made by the Bush administration to compare Saddam Hussein to Adolph Hitler. Although President Bush did not originate this analogy, he used it frequently during Operation Desert Shield. Building upon the Hitler analogy, President Bush made it clear that the United States could not engage in a policy of appeasement with Saddam.

The United States military had developed a strategic Operations Plan 90-1002 drafted in the early 1980's, which anticipated a conflict with the Soviet Union or Iran. It called for a build up of 100,000 ground troops in the Middle East to counter these possible threats, but this plan could not be put into effect without the support of Saudi Arabia. Bush believed that Iraq's forces were preparing to invade also Saudi Arabia. King Fahd and his advisors needed proof that the perceived Iraqi threat was not just a pretext to insert American military forces into Saudi Arabia. The Saudis also needed to know that if

they challenged Iraq, America would be ready to back them with force and commitment. Bush dispatched a high-level team to Saudi Arabia to meet with King Fahd. After examination of the Iraqi troop deployments, King Fahd agreed to accept American troops in Saudi Arabia. President Mubarak of Egypt promptly promised to send troops as did King Hassan of Morocco.

Bush also launched a massive international diplomatic effort to gain support. He promptly presented Iraq's invasion to the U.N. Security Council, which promptly condemned the invasion and demanded that Saddam Hussein withdraw his forces unconditionally from Kuwait. When Iraq failed to comply, the Security Council imposed economic sanctions, requiring all U.N. members to cut off trade. Three weeks later, the Security Council permitted the use of naval force to ensure compliance with sanctions. It subsequently permitted the shipments of food and medical supplies to Iraq if distributed by international organizations.

On August 8, Saddam Hussein annexed Kuwait calling it the 19th province of Iraq. Iraq demanded that all foreign embassies be closed. The Security Council declared Iraq's annexation of Kuwait null and void, and subsequently demanded that Iraq withdraw its order to close all diplomatic missions in Kuwait. Many diplomatic missions refused to close. Iraq began using force to evict them, an action which again brought the condemnation of the Security Council. A few days later, Security Council demanded that Iraq permit all foreign nationals to leave Iraq and Kuwait. When Iraq failed to comply, President Bush declared that the Americans held in Iraq were hostages.

Bush contacted America's traditional allies in Europe and in the Middle East. The allies in the Middle East were particularly important. Support from Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia meant that the war was not another Western "colonial" war against an Arab country. Inducements were offered to gain support of some of the Coalition allies. At Washington's encouragement friendly sheiks gave the Russians $4 billion in aid to ensure their backing of the Security Council resolutions. The U.S. wrote off $13 billion in loans to Egypt. Turkey was promised $10 billion for arms procurement in exchange for the American use of Turkish airfields.

After agreement with leaders in Saudi Arabia, Bush ordered American military forces to the Middle East. This was called operation "Desert Shield." American forces were sent 7,000 miles by air from the United States, and began arriving in Saudi Arabia on August 7. Bush called up the U.S. military reserves. American forces reached more than 200,000 within three months. Other nations sent troops and equipment and the Bush administration formed a Coalition of other nations. Simultaneously, Iraq sent more than 400,000 troops to Kuwait and southern Iraq. These troops dug in and developed strong defensive positions.

On September 11, Bush addressed American people, announcing that the American goals in the Persian Gulf crisis were: an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait; the return of the Kuwaiti Emir to power; assurances of stability in the Gulf; and the protection of U.S. citizens in the area.

In all the U.N.'s Security Council passed twelve resolutions against Iraq. These resolutions required unanimous consent of the five permanent members (China, France, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, United States). This unusual unanimous consensus in the Security Council was due in large part to major strategic changes that had occurred in the world, particularly the new spirit of cooperation between the Western powers and the Soviet Union. The relaxation of tension in Europe also meant that

American, French and British forces in Europe could be deployed in massive numbers elsewhere if needed.

Western nations, including Britain, France and Italy, promptly joined the American-led military Coalition. Germany and Japan agreed to make hefty financial contributions to help pay Coalition expenses. After some behind-the-scenes maneuvering, Egypt and Syria joined the anti-Iraq Coalition and sent military forces to Saudi Arabia. The total Coalition forces were enough to defend Saudi Arabia against possible attack, but not enough to dislodge the Iraqis from Kuwait.

Saddam responded on August 14, by offering a peace settlement with Iran. He proposed that the 1975 Algiers Agreement be the basis to settle the boundary between the two countries. He also proposed that all prisoners held by Iran and Iraq be exchanged and that each country withdraw from their occupied territories. Iran agreed, but continued to oppose Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and to support the international sanctions against Iraq. However, this agreement allowed Iraq to send additional troops into southern Iraq.

When Iraq invaded, almost one million foreigners worked in Kuwaiti. The number of foreigners living in Iraq equaled those in Kuwait. Saddam permitted Third World foreigners who lived in Kuwait and Iraq to return home. He retained those foreigners from Western nations and Japan, referring to them as "guests." Western political leaders and journalists immediately referred to them as "hostages." As private citizens and private organizations from Western nations visited Iraq, Saddam released some hostages. By September Saddam still held about 10,000 hostages from Western countries and Japan. Iraq offered to release hostages from countries which lifted their sanctions against Iraq. The Western nations and Japan refused.

There were several possible options that might have resolved the conflict short of war. These options were : diplomatic resolutions; economic sanctions; and military pressure. Saddam urged his Arab neighbors not to internationalize the conflict. Obviously, without the support of Arab nations it would have been unlikely that military force could have been effectively used against Iraq. However, the only solution that would have been satisfactory to the U.S. would have required Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The U.S. could not be seen to sanction aggression, hence the only things that could be offered to Saddam as inducements were trivial. Saddam treated them as meaningless and it is not likely that diplomacy would have worked.

Diplomacy was used as propaganda techniques to gain backing from other nations. Saddam linked Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait to Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza strip. Through this linkage, Saddam hoped to gain the support of Arabs and Arab nations. This linkage did win the support of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, led by Yasser Arafat. On August 10, the Arab League held a meeting in Cairo. The PLO refused to support the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's resolution to condemn the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and to support the build up of American-led military force in Saudi Arabia. This meeting effectively ended the possibility of an Arab solution to the crisis although Saddam continued to raise it right to the end.

The U.N. imposed economic sanctions immediately after Saddam invaded Kuwait. Many observers believed that, given enough time, economic sanctions would bring Saddam to the bargaining table. Economic sanctions hurt Iraq, but not enough to be sufficient to force Saddam out of Kuwait. This

analysis has proven correct. As economic sanctions have continued in force since 1990, and Saddam has not yet complied with the U.N. Security Council's resolutions, it is not likely that Saddam would have left Kuwait solely due to the economic sanctions.

One advocate for continued military pressure short of armed conflict was Colin Powell, Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff, who advanced military containment with increased pressure on Iraq, but could not find any allies in the Bush administration. A major reason was that Powell admitted that it would take a longer time to force Iraq from Kuwait. Bush and others believed that their Coalition was fragile and could not be held together for prolonged period of time. Bush believed that it was important to move quickly to insure the success of the military option.

Bush concluded that it was unlikely that Iraq would voluntarily withdraw from Kuwait. On October 8, General Schwartzkopf was asked for an offensive plan. A few days after the U.S. congressional elections in early November, President Bush ordered a major build-up of 200,000 additional troops and armor in Saudi Arabia. A few days later 72,500 reservists were called up. By the end of December the United States had 440,000 military forces in the Gulf area along with 1,500 air planes, and six air craft carrier groups. Military personnel were still pouring in. Other nations were also asked to contribute armed forces. Eventually, twenty-eight nations contributed more than 600,000 forces to the Coalition.

As Iraq had not complied with any of its resolutions, Security Council authorized the use of "all necessary means" against Iraq if it did not withdraw from Kuwait. On the initiative of the United States a deadline for Iraqi withdrawal was set for January 15, 1991.

On December 6, Saddam released the remaining hostages, including more than 1,000 Americans, as a "goodwill gesture." He also announced his readiness to withdraw from Kuwait, if an international conference were held to discuss not only Kuwait, but also Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. He continued to hope that this linkage would defuse the growing support for the allied Coalition, particularly from Arab governments who were strongly opposed to Israel. Bush refused to permit the coupling of the two issues. Iraq did gain the support of Palestinians, Jordan, Sudan and Yemen.

Saddam misjudged American commitment and military capabilities. He believed that the U.S. was too weak to lead an anti-Iraq alliance. He did not believe that military force would be assembled, but if it did, he believed that war could be avoided by threats of the kinds of losses incurred in the Vietnam War. If it came to war in the Persian Gulf, Saddam believed that Iraq had the ability to fight a defensive war, as had been proven in the Iraq-Iran war. His soldiers built three heavily armed lines of defense. Saddam believed that Americans lacked Iraq's willingness to lose 10,000 men in a day's combat. Iraq threatened to draw Israel into the conflict. Saddam proclaimed that the coming war would be "the mother of all battles," and he threatened the use of chemical weapons if the Coalition attacked.

In a final attempt to negotiate an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, Secretary of State James Baker met with Iraqi foreign minister in Switzerland on January 9, 1991. At this meeting Baker warned Iraq against using chemical weapons, pledging that the U.S. would retaliate massively against Iraq. These negotiations proved futile to resolving the conflict.

Bush wanted to get Congress to authorize the use of force if possible, but there was a clear possibility that the Democratically-controlled Congress would not support his efforts. Bush believed that he had

the Constitutional power to deploy U.S. troops regardless of how Congress voted. On January 10, U.S. Congress opened debate to give authority for Bush to use military force against Iraq. Two days later, Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the use of all necessary steps to remove Iraq from Kuwait. Neither sanctions nor diplomacy dislodged Iraq from Kuwait by January 15. On January 17, the Coalition launched the attack against Iraq and Kuwait.

Student Questions

Why did President Bush compare Saddam Hussein to Adolf Hitler?

What were the alternatives to going to war?

What would have been the likely consequence of these alternatives, had they been selected?

Why was President Bush opposed to the other alternatives?

What decisions involved the United States in the Gulf War?

READING 12B: Time Line

1990

JULY

Iraq masses troops on the border with Kuwait

AUGUST 2

Iraq invades Kuwait; President Bush orders economic sanctions against Iraq; Security Council of United Nations condemns the Iraqi invasion and demands withdrawal.

AUGUST 6

U. N. Security Council imposes sanctions on Iraq, requiring all U. N. members to cut off trade.

AUGUST 7

U.S. military forces arrive in Saudi Arabia.

AUGUST 8

Saddam Hussein annexes Kuwait.

AUGUST 9

U. N. Security Council declares Iraq's annexation of Kuwait null and void.

AUGUST 25

U. N. Security Council permits use of naval force to ensure compliance with economic sanctions.

NOVEMBER 8

Bush orders a major build-up of 200,000 additional troops and armor in Saudi Arabia; 72,500 reservists called up a few days later.

NOVEMBER 29

U. N. Security Council authorizes use of military force against Iraq if it does not withdraw from Kuwait

by January 15, 1991.

DECEMBER 6

Saddam Hussein releases 20,000 hostages as a "goodwill gesture."

1991

JANUARY 10

U.S. Congress opens debate to give authority for Bush to use military force against Iraq.

JANUARY 12

Congress grants Bush authority to use military force.

JANUARY 15

U. N. deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait; Bush gives order for an attack upon Iraq.

READING 12C: International Viewpoints on the Gulf War

Not everyone agreed with President Bush's assessments or reactions to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Below are some diverse news accounts that appeared in newspapers and news magazines from other countries. (The following quotations are adapted from the **World Press Review**, October 1990, p. 14; January 1991, p. 8; February 1991, p. 8; and March 1991, p. 14.)

1. "The American reaction [to the invasion of Kuwait] appears questionable on several accounts . . . The U.S., had it acted quickly, might have prevented the crisis. Washington knew, for example, that Iraq was mobilizing for war several months before the Invasion, yet it chose to ignore the information . . . In a "burden-sharing" drive, Washington has dunned Japan and other allies for more than $10 billion. In effect, we are being asked to subsidize America's policy failure in the Persian Gulf."

Source: Hisao Iwashima, *Tokyo Shimbun*, Tokyo, Japan.

2. "There is tragic irony in the fact that American troops are not only putting their lives on the line but are also taking additional and unnecessary risks to defend some of the most undemocratic and intolerant regimes in the world."

Source: Jerusalem Post, Israel.

3. "A war started without a strong justification could destroy the reorganization process underway in the Arab world and give Iraqi President Saddam Hussein an opportunity to appear as a victim of aggression."

Source: O Globo, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

4. "How can the U.S. and its allies insist now on guarantees of 'future stability and security' in the Gulf if they allow the chronic instability and insecurity surrounding Israel to continue? How can Saddam's bomb be defused while the West Bank and Gaza tick away?"

Source: The Guardian, London, United Kingdom.

5. "The strategic objective of George Bush and his country is not to dominate the world in the Soviet style . . . The Americans . . . no longer govern the world, but they preside over the global order of the moment. They are responsible for obtaining, by negotiation and patience or, if necessary, by force, the obedience of the most turbulent countries."

Source: Bechir Ben Yahmed, *Jeune Afrique*, Paris, France.

6. "The sinister reality of our world is that the war [began] on August 2, when Saddam Hussein let his troops march into Kuwait. It is becoming clearer how horribly his soldiers acted there. Mass murder, torture, and rape are only a small part of the catastrophe suffered by the people of Kuwait."

Source: Wolfgang Günter Lerch, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Frankfurt, Germany.

7. "Ever since Saddam Hussein began his autocratic rule over Iraq, the Arab masses have known him to be a . . . regional adventurer trying to fragment Arab unity and to strike at its symbols everywhere."

Source: Gamal Badawi, *Al-Wafd*, Cairo, Egypt.

8. "All of our dreams have been crushed under the feet of yet another dictator . . . History teems with calamities brought about by the absence of democracy. So perhaps recent events will be a concrete lesson."

Source: Rajab al-Banna, *Al-Ahram*, Cairo, Egypt.

9. "It is high time for Moslems to consider the connection between what is happening to Iraq today and how the U.S. and its Western allies had set out to contain the Islamic Republic [of Iran] in the early 1980's . . . The connection is obvious. Any leader who calls for confrontation against the arrogant powers based upon Islamic values, principles of independence and freedom, and the obligation to liberate all Moslem lands will be subjected to a collective Western assault."

Source: *Kayhan*, Teheran, Iran.

10. "A new era will begin after we have completely annihilated the entity of the Zionists. Iraq's capabilities will irrevocably end the hegemony of colonialism in the Arab nation."

Source: Al-Qadissiya, Baghdad, Iraq.

11. "America's interests override all other interests of humanity . . . U.S. interests in the Gulf could have only two major remote objectives: to maintain a permanent presence in the Gulf . . . [and to] break up the front of the Arabs and then weaken the power of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. In this way, the strength of the U.S. would be secured for some time to come, and the Palestinian issue would be directed and controlled from the Gulf."

Source: Kojo Yankah, *People's Daily Graphic*, Accra, Ghana.

12. "Saddam Hussein [has fast become] a hero in much of the Islamic world, and even many non-Moslems seem to think it wrong to [have taken] up arms against him. To these people, the Americans . . . are the villains."

Source: The Economist, London, United Kingdom.

13. "What we see is not a genuine coming together of world powers to act in concert, but rather an assertion of American leadership, which most of the world feels obliged to go along with."

Source: Financial Times, London, United Kingdom.

14. "Saddam's troops . . . have committed unparalleled brutality against the Kuwaitis. Despite

international pleas to desist from dehumanizing the Kuwaitis, Saddam has shown no remorse. And the world has judged him as a criminal fit only to be exterminated."

Source: Riyadh Daily, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

15. "The theory that Americans are in the Gulf to defend their 'dirty' oil interests is gaining merit . . . Europeans, and Italians in particular, are uncomfortable with the growing deployment of U.S. troops."

Source: Corriere della Sera, Milan, Italy.

16. "Great Iraq [will] maintain a decisive advantage . . . Superiority in the crucial battle has been decided in favor of Iraq."

Source: Al-Thawra, Baghdad, Iraq.

17. "The U.S. is saving its strategic ally and principal oil donor--Saudi Arabia--from a possible attack. American policy combines both the principle of refusing to accept aggression and a strong regional (as well as global), practical interest. In dispatching troops to the region, Washington is thinking not so much about the principle of punishing aggression as about preserving and strengthening its influence in the Middle East."

Source: Stanislav Kondrashov, *Izvestia*, Moscow, Soviet Union.

ACTIVITY 13: The Gulf War, Operation Desert Storm

Introduction

The Gulf War was over 43 days after it began. Observers pointed out that it was a war by appointment. Iraq was ordered to leave Kuwait by January 15, 1991. When it failed to do so, the Coalition attacked targets in Kuwait and Iraq. This activity examines the "quick" victory, and examines the consequences of the war.

Student Objectives

- To understand basic information about the air and land war.
- To examine the consequences of the Gulf War.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Copies of Readings 13A-C for each student; poster paper from Activity 12

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Readings 13A and 13B. After the students have read them, ask them to consider:

   Why the Coalition victory was so quickly achieved.

2. Distribute Reading 13C. After the students have read it, have them compare:

   The reasons why Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait with the consequences of the war. Were his goals achieved?

   The reasons why President Bush went into the war with the actual outcomes of the war (see the information gathered in Activity 12). Were his goals achieved?

Note:

Additional information about Iraqi military and civilian casualties can be found in Reading 17D.

Activity 13, The Gulf War, Operation Desert Storm

READING 13A: The Coalition Attacks

Iraq intended to contest every bit of Kuwaiti territory. Saddam had constructed massive defensive lines that began close to the Saudi border. His goal was to make the Coalition pay heavily for an attack. He believed that high casualties would encourage the Coalition to seek a peace on terms favorable to Iraq.

The Coalition plan consisted of four phases: air attacks to achieve air supremacy and destroy Iraqi command and control facilities; massive bombardment of Iraqi supply and munitions bases, transportation facilities and roads leading into southern Iraq and Kuwait; a brief air attack on entrenched Iraqi ground forces in Kuwait and southern Iraq; and ground assault.

During the early morning of January 17, 1991, the U.S. began the first phase of the air war. At 3:00 a.m. on January 17, the Coalition air force launched Operation Desert Storm by attacking targets in Iraq. Targets included the radar sites, air defense centers, the Presidential Palace, and government offices, and Scud missile sites in western Iraq. Later, targets included chemical weapons factories, airfields, electrical power plants.

As the Iraqi air force was systematically destroyed, some planes fled to Iran rather than await destruction on the ground. Some Coalition planes were shot down. Iraq paraded the airmen on television, and threatened to deploy them as "human shields" at Iraq's strategic sites.

Iraq responded to the initial attacks by launching Scud ballistic missiles at Israel and Saudi Arabia. Scud missiles were originally developed by the Soviet Union. The Iraqis had modified and used them during the Iranian-Iraqi War. As these missiles could have had nuclear, chemical or biological warheads, they caused deep concern in both nations. The United States used the Patriot as an anti-missile. Despite appearances of success in hitting incoming Scud warheads, studies after the war indicated that the Patriot had been much less effective than believed during the war. The Patriot did however, build public confidence in Israel and in Saudi Arabia.

The Coalition targeted nuclear, chemical and biological weapon sites. Most targets were clearly plants that made weapons. Some targets may not have been of military use. On January 23, U.S. bombed a baby-milk factory in Baghdad, claiming that it was a biological weapons plant. Iraq denied that it was anything other than a plant to make milk for infants.

The most controversial attack occurred on an air-raid shelter in the Baghdad neighborhood of Amiriya in which 314 Iraqi civilians died when U.S. fighters mistakenly destroyed it, believing that it was a command-and-control center. The Iraqis seized this opportunity to discredit the Coalition air campaign. Despite such well-publicized incidents Iraqi civilian casualties were relatively low with the best estimate placing the total loss at less than 2,300 dead and about 6,000 injured.

Iraq began a concerted attempt to use oil as a weapon. On January 19, Iraq opened the valves on an oil terminal near Kuwait. The resulting 500,000 barrels of oil produced a slick that covered 240 square miles of the Persian Gulf. Coalition air planes bombed the pumping facility and halted the worst-ever oil-related ecological disaster. However, this was not the last time Iraq used oil as a weapon in the war.

Saddam wanted the Coalition to attack his defenses before the air campaign had destroyed his ability to fight. To provoke such a premature attack his forces launched an incursion into Saudi Arabia on January 29. The Saudi town of Khafji, which had been evacuated earlier, was lightly defended and was easily captured by the Iraqis. Iraq planned to follow up on this incursion with a major attack by forces in Kuwait. Allied air power severely damaged these forces, and Khafji was retaken by Coalition forces two days later.

On February 15, Iraq announced that it would withdraw from Kuwait conditional upon Israel's withdrawal from its occupied Arab territories. King Hussein of Jordan and Yasser Arafat strongly supported Saddam's statement. The Saudis vilified Saddam, King Hussein and Arafat. Bush called the offer a "cruel hoax," and set February 23 as deadline for any Iraqi withdrawal. Saddam threatened to use chemical weapons if the Coalition attacked. On February 22, Iraq began blowing up 800 oil wells, storage tanks and refineries. Many wells caught fire and continued to burn for over a year. Iraqi soldiers began looting Kuwait and executing young Kuwaitis.

As there was no move by Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, the allied ground assault began on February 24. Since Saddam had most of his forces in southern Kuwait and along the Gulf Coast to the east, the ground plan called moving the VII Corps several hundred miles in a wide flanking movement to the west, and attacking through Iraq. The idea was to force Iraq units from their entrench positions so they could be destroyed by superior U.S. air and ground fire.

The Marines carried out a frontal attack at the Saudi-Kuwaiti border, and promptly breached the strong Iraqi defense lines. They concentrated on a narrow area of Iraq's front, penetrated it quickly, and leapfrogged Iraqi positions by helicopter. Some Iraqi soldiers in entrenched positions were buried with sand. Others were bypassed and were frozen in place with air power. The Iraqi military lost cohesion and were forced in the direction that the Coalition desired. The Coalition kept the initiative and quickly ejected the Iraqi soldiers from Kuwait.

Due to the air war, many of the Iraqi troops were half starved, and had little will to fight. More than 64,000 surrendered to Coalition forces. Saddam announced a formal withdrawal from Kuwait. Kuwaiti troops formally liberated Kuwait City.

On February 27, Iraq accepted all U. N. Security Council Resolutions, and on the following day agreed to meet allied military leaders to arrange a cease-fire. In just 100 hours the Iraqi army in Kuwait and southern Iraq had been routed.

On March 3, the U. N. approved a resolution backing Bush's insistence that allied troops remain in Iraq until Saddam has complied with cease-fire terms. On the following day, Iraq accepted the allied terms, including the release of all allied prisoners.

Student Questions

Why was the war won so quickly by the Coalition forces?

Why did Iraq agree to the U.N. resolutions?

Why did Iraq attack Israel with Scud missiles, when Israel was not apart of the Coalition attacking Iraq?

READING 13B: Time Line

1991

JANUARY 17

U.S. began the air war on targets in Iraq and Kuwait; Iraqi Scud missiles hit Israel.

JANUARY 19

Iraq deliberately created an oil spill in the Persian Gulf that grew to the largest on record.

JANUARY 23

U.S. bombs what Iraqis claimed was a baby-milk factory in Baghdad.

JANUARY 29

Iraqi troops attack Saudi Arabia and take town of Khafji.

JANUARY 31

Coalition forces retake Saudi town of Khafji.

FEBRUARY 13

314 Iraqi civilians die when U.S. Stealth fighters destroyed a Baghdad bomb shelter, believing that it was a command-and-control center.

FEBRUARY 15

Iraq announced it would withdraw from Kuwait if Israel withdraws for occupied Arab territory; Bush called the offer a "cruel hoax."

FEBRUARY 23

Bush's deadline for Iraqi to withdraw from Kuwait.

FEBRUARY 24

Allied ground assault began.

FEBRUARY 25

Debris from an Iraqi Scud missile killed 28 U.S. soldiers in barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

FEBRUARY 26

Hussein announced withdrawal from Kuwait.

FEBRUARY 27

Iraq accepted all U. N. Security Council Resolutions.

FEBRUARY 28

Iraq announced a cease fire and agreed to meet allied military leaders to arrange cease-fire terms.

MARCH 3

U. N. approved resolution backing Bush's insistence that allied troops remain in Iraq until Iraq has complied with cease-fire terms.

MARCH 4

Iraq accepted allied terms, including release of all allied prisoners; civil unrest spreads in Iraq.

READING 13C: Results of the War

In the United States, the first American troops return home from the Gulf and were met with jubilant crowds. Patriotism surged throughout the United States. As several observers pointed out, the Gulf War was a national therapy session. The reasons for this euphoria were the quickness of victory--only 100 hours of combat--and the relatively low number of Allied casualties. Of the total 240 dead, 148 were American, and of the 776 wounded, 458 were American. Only 36 airplanes had been lost during the entire war, 27 of which were American. This dramatic display demonstrated America's military prowess, and its willingness to use force when it believed it was in its national interest. The Vietnam War was finally behind America.

But there were other immediate consequences of the war. The returning Kuwait government tried hundreds of Palestinians and others accused of aiding the Iraqi occupation. Kuwait had been looted and its economy was demolished. Its oil wells were still afire and the fires would not be put out for over a year. They were a major environmental calamity as was the deliberate pumping of oil into the Persian Gulf. Although these two catastrophes were not as deleterious as initially believed, they will adversely affect the region's environment for years to come.

Iraq suffered greatly as well. No accurate figures of Iraqi losses have been established. A U.N. report in March 1991 detailed destruction of Iraq's infrastructure and called it "near-apocalyptic." Within days of the signing of the cease fire agreement, civil unrest spread throughout Iraq. Shiite rebels in southern Iraq and the Kurds in northern Iraq revolted against Iraq. Saddam Hussein moved ruthlessly to suppress these rebellions. The U.S. stood aside when Saddam used tanks and helicopters to kill thousands of Shiite rebels. Hundreds of thousands of Kurdish refugees fled to Turkey. The Coalition rescued the Kurds, and eventually established "no-fly" zones in northern and southern Iraq. In these zones, Iraqi military aircraft were not permitted.

The U.N. Security Council Resolutions required that Iraq pay for the damage in Kuwait. They also required that its biological, chemical and nuclear warfare capabilities be destroyed. As Iraq failed to satisfactorily comply with these resolutions, the economic sanctions imposed by the U.N. remained in effect.

The long range consequences of the Gulf War were also significant: the U.S. and Great Britain controlled events in the oil-rich Gulf; the Palestinian question was back on the Middle East agenda; the U.S. demonstrated that it was willing and able to use massive force against any nation interfering with its long range economic goals; and Saddam remained in power supported by hundreds of thousands of Iraqi military forces who escaped destruction.

As a result of the war, Iraq's threat to the region and to the world's oil supplies was blunted. Iraq's military machine has been reduced and Hussein's ability to sustain a war against others was reduced. Kuwait's monarchy was restored, and the region has been protected. The price of oil has been stable. The United Nations gained prestige, and the United States became the major outside power in Middle East. Due to their support for Iraq during the Gulf War, Jordan and the PLO lost financial support from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. Perhaps as a result of these weaknesses, the PLO

and Jordan have subsequently joined in a peace process with Israel. Whether or not this process will resolve outstanding Arab-Israeli issues is unknown.

Student Questions

What were the results of the war from the standpoint of Iraq?

Of Kuwait?

Of the United States?

In war, unexpected consequences are the rule. What were some of the unanticipated outcomes of the Gulf War?

Why would the Gulf War have contributed to promoting peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors?

ACTIVITY 14: Summing Up the Gulf War

Introduction

It is important to pause after a unit has been completed and assess what has been learned. This activity requires the materials collected in Activity 8. It asks the students the same questions originally asked, and compares these responses with their initial responses.

Student Objectives

- To realize what has been learned factually about the Gulf War.
- To understand that images can change based upon additional information

Time

20 minutes to 1 class period

Materials

Poster paper from Activity 8; additional poster paper and markers

Recommended Procedures

1. Ask the students about their images of the Gulf War. Note their responses on poster paper.
2. Compare these images with those from Activity 8. In most cases these images should differ from those mentioned in the earlier activity. If so, ask why their images are different? It is important for the students to understand that our images, opinions and attitudes rest upon knowledge. When we have little knowledge about a topic, our images are based upon stereotypes and superficial aspects. Knowledge often challenges these images. Hopefully, the more knowledge that we have about a topic, the greater our understanding, and the less our dependence upon stereotypes and shallow images.

Extending the Lesson

There are many books about the Gulf War that are well written. Students interested in knowing more about the Gulf War should be encouraged to read them.

ACTIVITY 15: The Role of the Press during Wartime

Introduction

If you have already completed Unit A, specifically Activity 7, you may wish to skip this activity. If you have not, this activity illustrates some of the issues raised in Unit A. Many students will not have seriously considered the importance of the role of the press and media during wartime. Other students may have firm and clear ideas. This activity encourages students to surface any initial opinions about this relationship. Teachers should not be overly concerned with the paucity of responses that students may offer. This activity will be repeated at the end of the unit in Activity 25 and will provide a means of evaluating how much the students have learned.

Student Objectives

- To encourage the students to consider what should be the role of the press during wartime.

Time

20 minutes

Materials

Poster paper and markers or a chalkboard

Recommended Procedures

1. Tell the students that they are going to brainstorm three questions. Remind them about the rules of brainstorming. The purpose of this activity is not to criticize comments by other students, but to list possible answers to the questions that occur to them. Whatever the students say, record it on the poster paper. These responses will be used in Activity 25, and will be open to review, discussion and revision throughout the unit.
2. Pose one question at a time. After the students have exhausted their responses, move onto the next question. Place their responses to each question on a separate poster sheet:

   What do the students think reporters do during war?

   Should reporters be able to say or write anything that they want during wartime?

   Should the government or the military censor the press and media during wartime?

3. Save the poster sheets for use in Activity 25. If you have used the chalkboard, have the students copy the information.

ACTIVITY 16: Communication Technology and Media

Introduction

Two unique characteristics of the media's coverage of the Gulf War were the importance of new communication technologies and the significant impact of television on the formation of opinions about the war. This activity examines the changes in communication technology during the past fifteen years and the shifts that occurred for viewers in America. It explores some of the strengths and weaknesses of television, which was extremely influential during the Gulf War.

Student Objectives

- To examine the role of changing communication technology and what influence it has on public opinion.
- To examine the role of television in influencing opinions about conflict.
- To examine the particular problems confronting the press and media in Saudi Arabia.

Time

1-3 class periods

Materials

Copies of Readings 16A and 16B for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Reading 16A to the students. After they have read it, ask them to consider:

   What was the importance of communication technology in the Gulf War?

   Why was CNN catapulted into a position of "news leader?"

   How did television affect the Gulf War?

2. Distribute Reading 16B. After the students have read it, ask them:

   Why does television play such an important role in forming opinions of Americans?

   What are the problems with television as a medium for news as compared with newspapers, radio, news magazines, etc.?

What are the strengths and weakness of television as a medium for news?

Extending the Lesson

1. Pick an international incident that will likely be covered on television news. Assign the students to watch (and if possible to record) CNN Headline News, CBS, ABC, NBC, PBS and, where available, ITN World News. Some students should time the broadcast coverage; some should examine the film footage used to cover the incident; some should record the script.
2. Ask the students to report on how each news program presented the story on a particular day.
3. Compare these broadcasts:

   What was left out and what was common about each broadcast?

   How did each program present the issue?

   Compare these broadcasts with newspapers published the following morning.

READING 16A: Communication Technology

During the early 1990's conventional broadcasting was augmented, and in some cases replaced, by satellite and cable video. These late innovations have recently been conjoined with computers, fax machines, integrated circuits, and modems. In the twenty-first century, fiberoptic technology and digital electronics promise a new generation of dazzling gizmos to press human societies toward a virtually instantaneous worldwide communications capability.

The potential speed and distribution of information in the 1990's have become so fast compared to those of only a decade ago that most users of these new technologies are no longer as concerned with how to get information to an audience as they are with how people will handle the bombardment of information they receive. In the 1990's a one-page message can be sent 10 million times faster than the Spanish Armada could have delivered it, even on a windy day. New digitized information allows the light-based technologies of glass and satellites to send the equivalent of the entire Encyclopedia Britannica, including color graphics, a total of six times in one minute. This rapid distribution of information was witnessed in the homes of the world, "live and in color," during the Gulf conflict.

In this instance, the concepts of distance and time were altered by the ability of new communication systems to distribute the same messages instantly around the world. Of course, the rate at which people read and comprehend the stories and information did not change. So the Gulf War has taken far longer to understand than it took to report.

The shrinking of distance and time by communication technologies redefined the war from communication, political and military perspectives. Israel's tracking system, which the allies used to monitor Iraqi Scud missile attacks, allowed Israeli civil defense systems to activate warnings within seconds of enemy launches. Israeli citizens routinely benefitted from televised warnings to take cover in sealed rooms, allowing them to find safe quarters while Scud missiles were still airborne. This is one example of how television coupled with other communication technologies transformed events in the Gulf as they happened. In this way, the media contributed significantly to the outcome of the war rather than merely reporting on it.

Student Questions

What was the importance of communication technology in the Gulf War?

How did television affect the Gulf War?

READING 16B: The Importance of Television

During the 1980's and 1990's there were significant changes within the American press and media that would influence reporting during the Persian Gulf War. News organizations are businesses whose goal is in part to maximize profit. In the late 1980's all three major networks (ABC, CBS, NBC) changed ownership. The new owners insisted on financial accountability that included the lowering of the expenses of news divisions. The major networks faced a badly eroded audience (at times, half the prime-time audience that the three networks had 10 or 15 years ago). This loss severely depressed advertising sales. News organizations cut back foreign reporters. When Iraq invaded Kuwait, there were few journalists in the Persian Gulf.

As the three major news networks decreased their funding for news, news alternatives developed. For instance, on broadcast television the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) increased the quality of political programming. The McNeil-Lehrer News program, for instance, brought much more to news coverage than just flashy personalities and superficial film footage.

On cable television, two important alternatives to the major networks challenged their news monopoly. C-Span, a twenty-four hour a day public affairs channel, was created in 1980. A second alternative to the network news was Cable News Network (CNN), a twenty-four hour a day news station. CNN had been formed by Ted Turner and was based in Atlanta. His mandate was to make it "the world's television news service." By the mid-1980's CNN had become one of the world's most widely available television services in the world. CNN programs could be watched in virtually every nation. Turner had built this success so rapidly by making agreements with more than 150 news services around the world which exchanged programming.

The increased availability of cable television throughout the 1980's meant that these news services were available to wider audiences. Thus, the amount of substantive political information available on television increased. By the end of the 1980's it was possible for an interested citizen to be more knowledgeable about the news than at any time in the history of the United States.

Television is the prime source of political information for the majority of Americans. News on television is more believable, exciting and dramatic than in other media. Nightly news is the single most important element impacting political opinions in America. This was particularly true for the Gulf War. Eighty-nine percent of Americans used television as main source for information about war news. Only 51 percent read a daily newspaper. During the Gulf War this increased, but 67 percent of those who read newspapers during the war reported that they offered the same news as did television. Due to the impact of television in the Gulf War, it has been widely characterized as "the global village's" first simultaneous "prime-time war."

As relatively few Americans learned about the Gulf War from direct experience, viewers accepted the authenticity of the events as portrayed on television without checking against alternative perspectives. Many observers have been highly critical of the role television plays in America. The dean of the television correspondents, Walter Cronkite, believed that, "If we could teach people how to read a newspaper, how to listen to radio and watch television . . . we could create an understanding of media,

of the individual strengths and weaknesses of each medium. We could lead them away from a dependence on television, back to good newspapers, magazines and books."

The importance of television has not been lost on foreign policy makers. Television is an important influence upon public opinion, which in turn can influence public policy. Television has also been used as a diplomatic back channel among leaders involved in a crisis. Complex signals have been sent to other leaders via television. Television cameras cover peace conferences, trade negotiations, political speeches, press briefings and other international events, and policy makers have become adept at news management and public relations.

Student Questions

Why has television become so important a source for news in America?

What are the problems with television as a medium for news as compared with newspapers, radio, news magazines, etc.?

What are the strengths and weakness of television as a medium for news?

ACTIVITY 17: The Media in the Gulf War

Introduction

This activity examines the specific activities of the media during the Gulf War. The Readings examine the activities of the press during the Gulf War--from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait to the Coalition's invasion of Kuwait and Iraq.

Student Objectives

- To understand the activities of the press and media during the Gulf War.
- To examine how media coverage of the Gulf War differed from the coverage of previous wars.
- To examine the ways in which the military manipulated the press during the war.

Time

Two class periods

Materials

Copies of Readings 17A-D for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Reading 17A. After the students have read it, ask them to consider:

   What did the press and media do during Desert Storm?

   What were the mechanisms of censorship employed by the military?

   In what other ways did the military control news about the Gulf War?

2. Distribute Reading 17B. After the students have read it, ask them to consider:

   Did the role of the media change during operation Desert Storm?

   In what ways did the military control news during the air war?

   During the land war?

   Why did the censorship system break down during the land war?

Why did the military manipulate the press during the war?

3. Distribute Reading 17C. Tell the students that political cartoons are another way that newspapers and news magazines communicate to their readers. Ask the students to consider:

   What are the issues behind the cartoons?

   What position is the cartoonist taking on the issue?

   Does the cartoon agree or disagree with the U.S. position on the Gulf War?

4. In groups, ask the students to make up cartoons about a current international event or crisis. Ask each group to share the cartoon with the rest of the class.
5. Distribute Reading 17D. Ask the students to consider:

   Why are there such divergent estimates of Iraqi casualties?

   Why would different sources have different "statistics?"

   Why would some sources prefer high or low figures for Iraqi losses?

Extending the Lesson

1. Ask the students to copy news articles about the Gulf War from national magazines such as, *Time Magazine*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report,* published during 1990-91. Magazines and newspapers are often available in the school library or a local community library.
2. Have the students compare the accounts of the war in these newspapers and magazines with the accounts that appear in this activity or other recent account of the Gulf War.

READING 17A: The Early Months of the Gulf War

Working in Saudi Arabia was not easy for the press, even in times of peace. Western reporters had difficulty obtaining permission to report from within Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran and Iraq--all of whose governments were opposed to the basic tenets of a free press. Saudi authorities traditionally barred Western journalists to avoid contact with the local Saudi population. Saudi journalists were severely restricted--threaten with jail or death for negative statements about the government.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait there were no Western reporters in Saudi Arabia. Based upon long experience, the Saudis were reluctant to permit Western reporters into their country for any reason. In the potentially volatile context of a military confrontation with a fellow Arab nation, the Saudis were even less inclined to stir the stormy situation with the injection of American reporters.

When President George Bush ordered American forces into the Persian Gulf on August 8, 1990, reporters were not allowed to accompany them. Due to criticism from the press, a 17-member National Media Press pool was sent to Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. It arrived on August 13, two days after the first U.S. F-15s, but before General Norman Schwartzkopf himself arrived. An attempt to send a second wave of journalists was frustrated by Saudi Arabian officials. The Saudi government finally changed its position due to pressure by the U.S. government.

Pentagon restrictions prohibited reporters from disclosing sensitive military information, such as: specific numbers, movements or location of troops, aircraft, weapons; details of future military plans; intelligence collection activities; identifying information about downed aircraft or ships while search and rescue missions were underway; and information about vulnerabilities that could be used against allied forces. In general, reporters were cautioned about reporting sensitive military information that "could jeopardize operations and endanger lives."

More than 1,400 press and media technicians eventually were accredited by the U.S. military during the Gulf War. All wanted access to a press pool. Only 126 accredited journalists ever were assigned to a pool during the air war, and 250 were allowed to join combat pools.

During the early part of the air war, the pool escort system worked. No reporter could defend the premise that in a military campaign all members of the press should be accommodated in a specific location. Here was the system: first the reporters needed to receive accreditation from Pentagon; they had to get into a pool; then they depended upon the escort of a location for a story. Escorts could pave the way to broad access or could impose further obstacles; stories sent through military channels were lost or delayed. Few news outlets could afford the direct-to-satellite phones that were leased by a few major news organizations, such as *The New York Times*.

The rationale offered for the provision that all media pool reporters accept military escort was for the protection and safety of the pool reporter. All visits had to be approved in advance, and reporters were constantly under military escort. Reporters felt that the soldiers being interviewed would be inhibited because of the presence of a public affairs officer.

Media pool news stories, including photographs and film, were reviewed prior to their transmission. If the journalist disagreed with the review, the journalist could appeal the decision. Ultimately, the news organization had to decide whether or not to publish it. However, the process of appeal would take time, and it would be likely in the fast-moving events of the Gulf conflict, that the news would of little use to the news organization by the time the appeals would be processed.

Student Questions

Why did the Pentagon require media personnel to be accompanied by military escorts?

Why did the Pentagon prevent the press from publishing military information?

Why were reporters placed in "pools" by the military?

READING 17B: During the Conflict

During ABC's World News Tonight program on January 16, 1991, Peter Jennings was conducting an interview with ABC's news correspondent Gary Shepard in Baghdad. Shepard saw flashes of light and told Jennings that "It's like fireworks on the Fourth of July, multiplied by 100!" Perhaps the strangest fact was that at the time Baghdad was not under attack. Apache Helicopters had attacked radar sites in Iraq to pave the way for the main attack that was to arrive in Baghdad 7:00 p.m. (EST). Due to the use of Stealth bombers, the Baghdad anti-aircraft system went off automatically as soon as there was an attack anywhere near Baghdad. U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney turned on television to see what the effects of the attack on Baghdad would be. The television stations were broadcasting through the Baghdad Telephone Exchange which had been targeted for the first wave of American bombers. Right on schedule, a bomb destroyed the Telephone Exchange in downtown Baghdad, and Shepard abruptly went off the air.

Cable News Network (CNN), however, had made advance arrangements at $16,000 per month for a special telephone line to Amman, Jordan, that connected with a satellite relay. CNN reporters Peter Arnett and John Holliman were in their room with anchor Bernard Shaw in Baghdad awaiting an interview with Saddam Hussein when they reported flashes.

That evening Bush spoke to the largest audience for a single event in television history, an estimated 61 million households. The President told the American people that sanctions were not likely to work and that military force was the only way to oust Iraq from Kuwait. He clearly spelled out the goals of American-led Coalition: to remove Iraq from Kuwait, to restore the Kuwait government, and to force Iraq to comply with the U.N.'s Security Council Resolutions.

Throughout the war, briefings were held daily in Saudi Arabia, and the Pentagon. Due to the expense of preempting regularly scheduled programs, the major networks did not broadcast the briefings live, although they often aired excerpts from the briefings appeared on their nightly news programs. CNN and C-SPAN did air the briefings live, and millions of Americans became fans of both cable stations.

Saddam permitted CNN to remain in Baghdad, but ousted all other American journalists. Arnett and two technicians stayed behind using their telephone line, but eventually they were supplied with a satellite dish to transmit live pictures. While broadcasting from Baghdad, Arnett occasionally contradicted Pentagon claims that the destruction of nonmilitary targets was accidental damage.

When hostilities commenced, the Pentagon guidelines went into effect and operated as intended. The guidelines prevented disclosure of information that would have endangered the safety of American and allied forces. Reporters found it difficult to see or report unrehearsed military activity. Security reviews delayed news reporting. Military officials used these delays to break news and shape important news stories. The press restrictions remained in effect throughout the conflict. Those reporters who struck out on their own were detained by allied forces, and in one case by the Iraqis.

When the ground war began on February 23, the pool system collapsed due to the rapid movement of military units which overwhelmed the support necessary for the pools to continue to work. The military

refused journalists use of their own satellite telephones because the technology stripped the military of control of the flow of information. The military demanded prior review of articles and took responsibility for the transmission of press materials, but the media pool transmission was a low priority. Its mechanisms for getting the pool reporter pictures and copy back to Dhahran were often slow. The media were returned to a "pony express" type courier service to get their materials back to publishers and broadcasters. Stories were lost in the confusion and difficulties of combat; others may have been delayed on purpose.

However, some reporters moved faster than the U.S. military and ended up in front of the troops. For instance, CBS news correspondent Bob McKeown arrived in Kuwait City and began broadcasting before American troops entered the city. He and others followed Saudi and Egyptian forces into Kuwait and escaped the Pentagon rules. With portable uplinks, news reports poured out. Iraqi troops surrendered to Richard Threlkeld of CBS News. Other journalists had similar experiences.

Pentagon spokesperson Pete Williams conceded that there had been problems, but believed that the system was fair and got a reasonable number of journalists to see the action and that the American people got the accounting they deserved. He defended press rules as necessary for the safety of the troops and the security of the military operations. The rules were not intended to prevent journalists from reporting on incidents that might embarrass the military or make military operations look sanitized. Williams noted that many journalists were trying to fight the last war, i.e., Vietnam. The Persian Gulf War was not Vietnam. The Gulf conflict was a conventional war.

There were skirmishes between reporters and the military. This tension in part was related to the differences of their professional cultures. Military leaders want to control the news; it is the business of journalism to offer quick-but-tentative versions of the truth. Pentagon planners, in contrast, believed they must try to manipulate public opinion to their own ends. They know that the mortal business of conflict gives them a considerable advantage against the press, and the general feeling that the public would have permitted even greater restrictions if the Pentagon had so desired. When the bodies of American who died in the Gulf War were returned to the United States, reporters were refused access to Dover Air Force Base to view the coffins.

CBS's Bob Simon attempted to evade restrictions and was captured by Iraqis. He spent the war in prison. Only one journalist was killed, a freelance photographer while working for *Newsweek*in northern Iraq after the war ended. Caryle Murphy of the *Washington Post*, hid in Kuwait for 26 days after the invasion and reported by phone. Consequently, she won a Pulitzer Prize for her reporting.

Student Questions

Why were there so many reporters and technicians in Saudi Arabia?

Why was there so little criticism of the reporting during the war?

Why were reporters prevented from visiting Dover Air Force Base in Delaware to view the returning coffins?

READING 17C: Gulf War Cartoons

Sorry, still working on these. Coming soon...

Return to Activity 17.

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READING 17D: Statistics, Estimates or Lies?

Many people believe that statistics or estimates employed in newspaper articles or news broadcasts are true. Many are accurate, but other figures presented as "facts" are most likely inaccurate or false. Many figures are generated to support a particular point of view or perspective on an issue or topic. Perhaps the most egregious inaccurate statistical reporting in the Gulf War related to the number of casualties suffered by Iraq during or because of the war. Examine the following statistics or estimates presented by different sources during or after the war.

1. Ted Koppel, the host of ABC's Nightline: "I'm not sure the public's interest is served by seeing what seems to have been such a painless war, when 50,000 to 100,000 may have died on the other side."

2. Bob Woodward, in his book The Commanders, concluded that Iraq lost 100,000 killed, including 15,000 civilians.

3. On October 29, 1991, on the PBS's program *Frontline,* Andrew Cockburn claimed that "anywhere between 75,000 and 175,000 children could die due to the public health conditions that we caused."

4. In May 1991, a Harvard-related health worker reported that the war's aftermath could cause the deaths of 170,000 children.

5. The Iraqi under secretary for health, Dr. Shawki Murgus reported that between August 1990 and May 1991, the total deaths of children under five years of age had been less than 20,000, not significantly higher than prewar levels.

6. Air Force Col. John A. Warden reported that only about 2,000 civilians died in the bombing.

7. Brent Sadler, who covered the war from Baghdad for British television, estimated the civilian death toll at less than a thousand.

8. Michael and Edwin Emery, authors of The Press and America, estimated that 100,000 Iraqis military died along with an additional 15,000 civilians.

9. According to Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh, authors of The Gulf Conflict 1990-1991,the only information that Iraq released was that about 20,000 Iraqis had died during the air war, including about 1,000 civilian. At most another 15,000 died during the land war, bringing the total to 35,000.

10. According to J. A. S. Grenville in A History of the World in the Twentieth Century, "No accurate figures for Iraqi casualties killed has been established; they were probably between 30,000 and 90,000."

Student Questions:

What were the sources of these estimates or statistics?

Why would these sources give different figures for Iraqi fatalities?

Why would some sources want a lower figure while other sources might want a higher figure?

Obviously, Iraq has a good conception of its losses during the war. Why wouldn't Iraq want to release the record of its casualties.

Why wouldn't the United States military want to release its estimate of Iraq's losses?

Of the above estimates, which do you think is more accurate? Why?

ACTIVITY 18: The Incubator Baby Incident

Introduction

During most international conflicts, stories are printed in the press or broadcast by the news media that influence public opinion and eventually sway public policy. Often these stories are true and accurate; sometimes stories are planted by one of the parties engaged in the conflict and other times the stories are propaganda.

This activity examines media accounts that were published and broadcast during the Gulf War regarding the removal of baby incubators by Iraqi soldiers after their occupation of Kuwait in August 1990. This story was reported in most newspapers and electronic media throughout the United States. As noted in the Readings, these accounts were mentioned by many politicians and citizens as they attempted to decide what the best course for America was during the conflict. Please note that Iraq committed many atrocities during its occupation of Kuwait. This incident, however, is most likely a case of pro-Kuwaiti propaganda than is reminiscent of stories told about the Germans in Belgium during World War I *** (See Reading 6C).

Student Objectives

- To show the multiple media responses to the incubator issue.
- To analyze how media reports can affect international conflicts.
- To evaluate the rights and responsibilities of the press during an international conflict.
- To analyze and evaluate different perspectives on an issue.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Copies of Readings 18A-J for each student

Recommended Procedures

It is advisable that the students read each selection individually. There are two options for the teacher:

Option 1 -- Reproduce all Readings and distribute them to the students one selection at a time. This will allow ample time to digest the material and respond.

Option 2 -- Another method would be to reproduce the Readings for an overhead projector. The teacher could uncover each selection individually, leading a class discussion as the students respond.

1. Distribute Readings 18A-G, one at a time, to each student. When all students have completed reading the individual account, ask their opinions on these questions:

   How do they feel about these reports as presented?

   Based upon the information presented in these accounts, what do they think about the incident?

   What influence do they think the publication of these accounts might have had upon people reading them?

   Might these accounts have influenced the President of the United States, Congress or the American public? How?

2. Distribute Readings 18H-J, one at a time, to each student. When all students have completed reading the individual account, ask students their opinions on these questions:

   What do they now believe really happened?

   Why did American citizens and politicians believe the incident occurred?

   Why would this story have been promoted in the first place? Why was this story repeated regularly?

   Should newspapers have published the article or the electronic media covered the story?

   How should responsible journalists and correspondents have responded to this story?

   Should politicians have used this story as justification for their position on America's involvement in the war?

   How does the "Baby Incubator Incident" help them to understand the function of the press during international conflicts? Explain and give examples to prove the case.

Extending the Lesson

1. Now that the students have examined the first series of selections and the second series of selections, ask each student to write an article about the incident as they would liked to have seen it reported by the press at the time.
2. The students should share their articles and compile an alternate series of selections.
3. Now that the teacher has been able to model how the media influenced/interpreted events during the Gulf War, have the students research other international conflicts, examining the role of the media. Excellent examples would be: Bosnia, Ethiopia, Chechnya, Somalia, Kashmir, Uganda, The Congo.

READING 18A: Incubator Baby Incident

The London *Daily Telegraph*, on September 5, 1990, reported the claim by the exiled Kuwaiti housing minister, Yahya al-Sumait, that "babies in the premature unit of one hospital had been removed from their incubators so that these, too, could be carried off." The story was repeated on Reuters, an electronic press service. Two days later the *Los Angeles Times* published the Reuters story about the atrocity accounts of a San Francisco woman identified as "Cindy" and her traveling companion "Rudy" who had been evacuated from occupied Kuwait. "Iraqis are . . . taking hospital equipment, babies out of incubators. Life-support systems are turned off."

READING18B: Nayirah's Testimony

On October 10, 1990, the congressional Human Rights Caucus provided an opportunity for Amnesty International to present their evidence against Iraq on Capitol Hill. The Caucus is not a committee of Congress and therefore does not require that a witness take an oath. An anonymous fifteen year old "Nayirah" allegedly a Kuwaiti with first hand knowledge of the crimes witnessed by "Cindy" from San Francisco. Nayirah reportedly could not give her last name because of fear of reprisals against her family. She testified tearfully:

> "I volunteered at the al-Addan hospital. While I was there, I saw the Iraqi soldiers come into the hospital with guns, and go into the room where 15 babies were in incubators. They took the babies out of the incubators, took the incubators, and left the babies on the cold floor to die. It was horrifying."

All major television networks, CNN and many local television stations replayed this testimony. Many newspapers reported on the hearing, and offer Nayirah's testimony.

READING 18C: President Bush

President Bush watched the hearings of the congressional Human Rights Caucus. In these hearings "Nayirah" reported on the Iraqis taking baby incubators in Kuwait. He was delighted with them. On October 15, 1990, President Bush reported that he had met with the Emir of Kuwait, who had told the President horrible tales about "newborn babies thrown out of incubators and the incubators then being shipped to Baghdad." He referred to the story five more times during the next five weeks, once in an interview with David Frost

READING 18D: The U.N. Security Council

On November 27, 1990, the U. N. Security Council heard "Dr. Issah Ibrahim," who explained that after the Iraqis took over "the hardest thing was burying the babies. Under my supervision, 120 newborn babies were buried the second week of the invasion. I myself buried 40 newborn babies that had been taken from their incubators by soldiers." An unidentified Kuwaiti refugee supported the testimony. The next day newspapers all over America reported on the testimony of this witness.

READING 18E: Middle East Watch's Report

Middle East Watch, a New York based human rights group, also pursued these reports. They cited a Dr. Ahmed al-Shatti who related the stories of Iraqi torture at a press conference in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, on October 14, 1990. The doctor was unable to document his claims, but other physicians gave similar reports. A Kuwaiti physician, Dr. Ali al-Hawil, said that between sixty to seventy babies had died in the Kuwait City maternity hospital after soldiers dismantled the premature-babies unit. He claimed that he and his colleagues buried fifty babies on August 20.

READING 18F: Amnesty International's Report

On December 19, 1990, Amnesty International published an 84-page report on the Human Rights violations in occupied Kuwait. The report stated, "In addition, over 300 premature babies were reported to have died after Iraqi soldiers removed them from incubators, which were then looted." The report cited three supports for this allegation. First, it reported that an unnamed Red Crescent doctor as saying that 312 premature babies at Maternity Hospital in al Sabah Medical Complex died after being taken from incubators and that he personally had buried 72. Second, the report also quoted the previous statement made before the Human Right Caucus offered by the anonymous fifteen year old "Nayirah." Third, the report mentioned a woman who had quadruplets at al Razi Hospital, who had gone home and then returned to find them out of their incubators. They died a day later at home. On January 8, 1991, U.S. executive director of Amnesty International reported the story in testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

READING 18G: Additional Support

On January 8, 1991, Stephen Solaraz, a leading Democrat on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, quoted verbatim the Amnesty International Report on this story. On the following day President Bush cited the Amnesty International Report in a letter sent to campus newspapers all over the country. In the Senate, six senators specifically cited the baby incubator story in their speeches supporting the resolution to give President Bush power to use American forces in Kuwait. On February 15, Vice President Dan Quayle declared in a speech that, "There are pictures Saddam doesn't want us to see. Pictures of premature babies in Kuwait that were tossed out of their incubators and left to die."

READING 18H: Incubator Story Disputed

Some newspapers challenged the story. On September 30, 1990, the *Seattle Times* published an interview with a Palestinian physician contradicting the incubator allegations. On December 10, *USA Today* reported:

> **INCUBATOR STORY DISPUTED**
>
> A doctor just out of Kuwait challenges assertions by President Bush and Kuwait exiles that invading Iraqi soldiers had dumped babies out of incubators.
>
> "Babies are dying in hospitals because Iraq's invasion has driven away staff who could save their lives," says Icelander Gisll Sigurdsson, who left Kuwait three weeks ago.
>
> The incubator charge has been levied by Bush repeatedly when he recounts Iraqi atrocities.
>
> "That news was not true," Sigurdsson said in Amman, Jordan. "However there were lots of babies who died because of lack of staff over the last few weeks."

Source: *USA Today*, December 10, 1990, p. 7A.

READING 18I: Sifting for the Truth on Both Sides

Truth is the first casualty, people always say gloomily at the prospect of war. Just how rapidly this happens can be illustrated by the case of the premature Kuwait babies, supposedly left to die last August by Iraqis who then removed the incubators to Baghdad. It has become the tale used by the Kuwait government in exile, as well as by President Bush, who invoked Iraqi horrors inflicted upon the innocent children of Kuwait in his speech. It should be said right away that there are thousands of examples of such Iraqi brutality and denial of elementary human rights, not just in Kuwait but in Iraq. But the story of baby mass murder is untrue.

Does it matter that the Iraqis, amid their looting and murders, did not kill scores if not hundreds of babies by stealing their incubators? It does matter. War brings a deluge of propaganda designed to gull us and to protect government. The incubator myth shows how quick we are to believe something when it grabs so savagely at our instincts.

Source: Adapted from Alexander Cockburn, "Sifting for the Truth on both Sides," *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1991.

READING 18J : After the War

After the war, John Martin of ABC News interviewed Dr. Mohammed Matar, director of Kuwait's primary health care system and his wife Dr. Fayeza Youssef, chief of obstetrics at the maternity

hospital. They reported that the story was not true and was simply propaganda. Dr. Fahima Khafaji, a pediatrician in the maternity hospital, reported that the Iraqis did not do so at her hospital.

On January 6, 1992, John R. MacArthur, publisher of *Harper's Magazine*, revealed that "Nayirah," who offered testimony before the Congressional Human Rights Caucus on October 15, 1990, was really the daughter of Saud al-Sabah, Kuwait's ambassador to the United States. It was also disclosed that Hill and Knowlton, a large public relations firm, had helped prepare her testimony, and that she had rehearsed before video cameras in the firm's Washington headquarters.

The testimony presented before the United Nations Security Council on November 27 by the unidentified Kuwait refugee turned out to be Fatima Fahed, wife of the Kuwait minister of planning and a prominent Kuwait television personality. Dr. Issah Ibrahim, who also offered testimony at the Security Council, was really Dr. Ibrahim Behbehani, a dentist. When questioned after the war, he admitted that he had not seen babies taken from the incubators.

A subsequent private investigation by Kroll Associates--a firm paid by the Kuwait government--found a single, brief incident, in which perhaps a half dozen infants were removed from incubators during the occupation. They offered no evidence to support this position.

On February 4, 1992, the U.S. Ambassador to Kuwait, Edward W. Gnehm, claimed that there were three witnesses to the removal of babies from incubators. He railed against the "smug and cynical" human rights investigators and journalists who had challenged the story. He, however, refused to release the names of the witnesses. Two days later, Middle East Watch staff examined Gnehm's statement and concluded there was no hard evidence that such an incident had ever occurred.

ACTIVITY 19: The Baby Milk Factory

Introduction

In general the Iraqis demonstrated complete ineptness in dealing with Western journalists. After Saddam Hussein had prevented Western hostages from leaving Iraq and Kuwait, he sat himself in front of a camera and patted terrified little boys on the back in order to show the world that he wasn't maltreating women and children. After he told the hostages that he was going to place them at military targets to ward off potential Coalition bombing, he claimed that the hostages would be "heros of peace." But not all of Iraq's propaganda efforts failed. This activity is an example of one that succeeded.

Most Coalition bombs hit military targets. The example in this activity may not have been properly targeted. It is used as an example of how the press dealt with a potentially controversial issue during war. Whether or not the Baby Milk Factory was or was not also a factory for producing chemical weapons, its destruction was effectively used by Iraqi propagandists.

Student Objectives

- To examine how propaganda was developed and reported as news.
- To evaluate one example of propaganda and examine its success in achieving its purpose.
- To ask whether or not it is proper for the government to engage in or abet in the manufacturing of propaganda during wartime.
- To analyze and evaluate different perspectives on an issue.

Time

1-2 class periods

Materials

Copies of Readings 19A-H, one Reading for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Readings 19A-E, one Reading to each student. After the students have read it, ask them:

   What did their reading describe?

   Why might the Iraqis have released this statement to the public?

2. If the students ask about Peter Arnett: he is a CNN reporter who remained in Baghdad during the

Gulf War and was permitted by Iraqi authorities to visit the site of the factory a few days after the bombing. Peter Arnett's role in remaining behind in Baghdad will be discussed more fully in Activity 23.

3. Probe further. Ask the students what they think about the incident.

   What are the indicators that the incident as described by Arnett was being used by Iraqi propagandists? (One indicator is that a "crude sign" was written in English, something unusual for Iraq.)

   Why would the schematic for the plan have been laying around on the ground?

   Why did Iraq want to publicize the fact that the Allies bombed "civilian targets?"

   Saddam Hussein killed thousands of his own people while trying to gain and maintain power in Iraq. Why would he care if the Coalition bombed Iraqi civilian targets?

   If bombing the factory had been a mistake, why wouldn't the Allies have admitted it?

4. Distribute Readings 19F-H. Ask the students to read them.

   What do they think about the bombing of the factory?

   Was in a chemical or biological weapons factory as well?

   Was it just an Iraqi propaganda stunt?

READING 19A: Destroyers of a Baby Milk Factory

Over the past month, the United States and its allies, along with the Zionist entity, which has taken part in the aggression from the beginning, launched savage and destructive raids on the Iraqi people, on their economic, scientific, cultural and service property, and also on their religious centers and sites of ancient civilizations in Iraq.

These raids are unprecedented in history in terms of the enormous firepower used and in terms of the means of killing and destruction used in a manner that contravenes the United Nations Charter, the false international legitimacy, and the new world order, which they wanted to use as an order for U.S.-Atlantic hegemony over the world.

The United States and the partners in the evil alliance, the planes that fire missiles from a distance, and the long-range missiles, have dropped huge quantities of bombs and explosives on women, children, and old people in all Iraq's cities and villages, and even on the nomad bedouins in the desert.

They struck in a premeditated manner mosques, churches, schools, hospitals, civilian factories, bridges, main roads, telephone, electricity, and water centers, irrigation dams, cultural centers and sites in the country. They hit targets that have no connection any way whatsoever with the military effort or the military confrontation arena of which they have spoken.

Their latest crime was the ugly and dirty crime of the premeditated bombardment of a civilian shelter. They killed and burned hundreds of women, children, and old people. The aim of this unjust aggression was very clear, namely to proceed with the process of destruction that they desire and to punish the proud, free, and struggling Iraqi people, because they have chosen the road of freedom, independence, and glory, and have rejected humiliation, disgrace, and submission to the will of imperialism and Zionism.

Source: Revolutionary Command Council, Baghdad Radio Address of February 15, 1991. © Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds., **The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions**. New York: Times Books, Random House, 1991, p. 339-340.

READING 19B: Live from the Baby Milk Factory

As we crossed an overpass in the industrial agricultural complex at Abu Garib I saw in the distance the remains of a sizeable building. The small signpost at the entrance bore a crudely lettered sign, "Baby Milk Plant," in English and Arabic. The structure was barely recognizable as a building. The sheet aluminum walls and roof had been ripped off and scattered across the yard, reflecting the noonday sun harshly into our eyes. The steel roof girders were twisted and blackened. The machinery underneath was a tangled, molten pile.

Ala'a introduced me to several officials as the World Television News cameraman, Mohammed, and his producer, Michael Haj, moved freely around the wreckage. The officials claimed that the factory produced twenty tons of infant formula powder each day, and had been destroyed in raids the previous Sunday and Monday. They pointed to the ruins of what they said had been large drying towers. They showed me the plastic spoon-making machines with the output strewn by the thousands on the floor. There were iron wagons packed with milk powder along the wall. I saw carbonized incinerated packets . . . A barbed wire fence circled the grounds. A solitary wooden guard tower sat at one corner. It looked like an innocent production plant to me. I gathered up an armful of powder packages to distribute to the children back at the hotel because they were complaining there was no milk.

At 8:30 that night, January 23, I broadcast my first report on the factory's destruction. I gave details of what I had seen and quoted officials as saying it was the only source of infant formula for Iraqi children. I had seen no evidence that the factory had been used for any other purpose. CNN anchor Patrick Emory asked me no questions about the story.

Source: Adapted from Peter Arnett, **Live from the Battlefield; From Vietnam to Baghdad**, 35 Years in the World's War Zones. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994, p. 385-386.

READING 19C: The White House Response

When CNN correspondent Peter Arnett reported that the United States had bombed a baby formula factory, White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater sharply rebuked Arnett and stated flatly, "Disinformation. That factory is, in fact, a production facility for biological weapons."

READING 19D: Heavy-handed Propaganda

CNN correspondent Peter Arnett reported that there were two things untouched by the bombing--a newly painted sign, both in English and Arabic, that said "Baby Milk Plant" and a large painting of Saddam comforting a distressed child. The curious survival of these two items amidst the "twisted and blackened remains of the plant" was a clear message to all viewers that the Iraqis were engaging in heavy-handed propaganda.

Source: *Washington Journalism Review*, 1991.

READING 19E: Arnett's Response

Peter Arnett stated, "I think it was a mistaken bombing. It seems to me that it was an unlikely place of a chemical plant. It was beside a main highway with no security fences around it. I see a lot of other installations around here that are probably less important than a facility of that nature, and the security is incredible. I just cannot conceive (of the Iraqis having) the limited kind of security that they had if it was such a secret installation. I mean, it's Iraq, why pretend: they can build it underground, they can put it anywhere."

READING 19F: Baghdad Gasbag

Peter Arnett never voiced doubts on the air about the Iraqi story, and nowhere does he concede that he might have been misled about the baby milk factory. Not only did he find powdered milk packages at the site, he writes, he found "a full schematic plan of a structure called 'Baby Milk Factory' drawn up by the builders, Sodetag Industries of France." After being grilled about the story by a stateside CNN anchor, he recalls, "I felt that even my own news organization was doubtful of my ability to assess the facts." In another interview, Arnett asked, "Why would the Iraqi government go to the trouble of doing all this? Was their nuclear weapons plant described--was it disguised as a bagel? I mean, why go to the trouble?"

There is evidence, in fact, that the Iraqi government did go to the trouble. Alfonso Rojo, a foreign correspondent for the Madrid daily El Mundo, reported in the Manchester Guardian shortly after the war that the "baby milk factory" was a secret location for nuclear weapons research and development. While the equipment in front was French, the nuclear equipment in the rear--overlooked by Arnett's eagle eyes--was Austrian. According to Rojo's sources, the plant "was set up under the guise of a powdered milk factory to prevent a repetition of the Israeli raid on Iraq's main nuclear facility in 1981."

Source: Adapted from David Andrew Price, "Baghdad Gasbag," © *The American Spectator*, (February 1994): 61-62.

READING 19G: Bombing Baghdad

Peter Arnett was allowed into Iraq for the sole purpose of reading government-approved scripts and showing government-approved pictures of civilian casualties.

And now, the first major civilian disaster of the war, the bombing of a Baghdad bunker packed with hundreds of civilians. With footage of this attack, Saddam's strategy gets under way. The resulting shock will increase pressure against the Allied war effort from the Arab street, the Soviets, the U.N. and American protesters.

How to meet the pressure? Not by restricting the press. Arnett and friends have every right to remain in Baghdad and pursue their story. Even in wartime, a free country may censor only military secrets, not disturbing pictures.

We meet the threat by exercising our critical faculties. By any measure, casualties thus far have been proportional to that end. They have indeed been far less than one would have expected of a war against so vast a military machine as Iraq's . . . So long as we scrupulously attack what we reasonably believe to be military targets, the bombing of Baghdad is a cause for sorrow, not guilt.

Source: Adapted from Charles Krauthammer's "Bombing Baghdad: No Cause for Guilt," *The Washington Post*, February 14, 1991.

READING 19H: Baby Milk or Germ Weapons

Arnett's report did not give the viewer any reason to think that the plant was anything other than what the Iraqi ministry of information told him it was. But the White House, Gen. Colin Powell, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, and Gen. Norman Schwartzkopf, the commander of our forces in the gulf, have all denounced the report as false. They say the plant was actually producing biological warfare weapons. They point out that it was heavily guarded, surrounded by a high security fence and that it was camouflaged. In addition, the Iraqis had claimed that they were getting powdered milk for the plant from Nestle, but Nestle said that was false. They said they had supplied no products to this plant.

A CNN camera crew had been invited to tour this plant last August [1990]. They videotaped workers wearing new uniforms with lettering in English reading, "Iraq Baby Milk Plant." The correspondent, Richard Roth, was suspicious at that time and expressed doubts about the authenticity of the plant when he aired his report. Arnett expressed no suspicions whatever, and gave the world the impression that we had sent two sorties to bomb an infant formula factory.

Source: *AIM Report*, published by Accuracy in Media, February-B 1991, np.

International Conflict and the Media

ACTIVITY 20: The Bombed Out Bomb Shelter

Introduction

Most evidence indicates that there were few Iraqi civilian casualties during the war. Most targets of the Coalition's air war were properly targeted, but in war mistakes happen. Whether or not the bomb shelter was or was not a proper military target is still debated. This episode was one of the few incidents during the war which was shown to Americans and Europeans which pointed out the harshness of war. If targeting the bomb shelter was a mistake, American authorities have yet to admit it. Whether or not it was a mistake, the Iraqis acquired one of their few propaganda victories in the war due to the destruction of the bomb shelter. The purpose of this activity is to examine how the press and media dealt with this controversial topic in wartime.

Student Objectives

- To examine how governments influence media during international conflict and conversely, how international media influences the course of international conflicts.
- To explore what are the responsibilities of a journalist during an international conflict.
- To examine the ways in which the press and media influence the opinions of readers/viewers.
- To analyze and evaluate different perspectives on an issue.

Time

2-3 class periods

Materials

Copies of Readings 20A-N, one reading for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. If the students have not carried out the "Images of the Gulf War", Activity 8, simply ask them to write what visual images of the conflict that they may remember (if any). After five minutes, ask students to volunteer a few of their visual images. Some students may remember the destroyed bomb shelter or the destruction of other buildings in Baghdad.
2. Distribute the Readings 20A-N, one Reading to each student. As Readings vary in length and reading level, you might consider giving certain students the more difficult readings. If some of the students read their sheet quickly, they may exchange with other students.
3. After all the students have finished reading, ask them to report briefly and as objectively as possible what the Reading states or shows. As some students will attempt to interpret the information or contradict it, simply state that there will be a time to evaluate the information later; for the moment, the task is to report as objectively as possible on the source.

4. Encourage the students to take notes on each reported Reading, particularly on those areas of disagreement or differences of opinion. After the Readings are presented, ask the students to evaluate the information contained in their Reading. Students should be able to give general information about the source, such as a first hand observer of the event, a U.S. government source, a military briefing, etc.

   Do they believe that the information given is accurate?

   If they believe that it is accurate, ask them how do they reconcile the contradictory information that other Readings might contain.

   What do they think is the source of the information in the Reading?

   What are the problems with eyewitnesses accounts?

   Government sources?

   How should a reporter respond to these sources?
5. Ask the students to consider how might the source be biased with regard to the topic. U.S. government and military might be interested in playing the episode down; Iraqi government might be interested in playing up the event as a means of gaining support for their position. Who do they think wrote the article? Students may be able to determine general categories, such as the writer may have been with a newspaper or news magazine, or it may have been written by an author from a different country other than the United States.
6. Discuss the fact that Peter Arnett remained behind in Baghdad and reported on the Gulf conflict. Iraqi officials censored his reports. Ask the students to consider:

   Should Arnett have remained behind and filed his reports?

   Had Arnett and other Western journalists not remained in Baghdad, how would their absence have influenced this story about the bombing of the shelter?

   How might readers of this material be influenced by its presentation?
7. Return to the "Images of the Persian Gulf Conflict," Activity 8. Ask the students if they have altered any of their images about the war. One news source has stated that the leader of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, may have been in the bomb shelter when it was targeted, but left before it was actually hit. If this was true, would it have been proper to have bombed the shelter with the expectation that Saddam Hussein might have been in it and his death might have ended the war sooner with many fewer casualties?

Extending the lesson

Ask the students to write an article based upon what they have heard. Depending upon time available, this assignment could be done as homework. Compare the student responses. As some students read

their stories, ask others to critic the stories based upon the information contained in their Readings.

Ask the students to collect sources about any current international conflict. Compare and contrast these sources in the same way that this activity was implemented.

Activity 20, The Bombed Out Bomb Shelter

READING 20A: The Bomb Shelter?

The Air War: How Targets are Chosen

The intelligence analysis U.S. officials offered last week to buttress their case reveals a great deal about the painstaking methods they use in the air war in the gulf. Preparations for the strike on the bunker began months before the bombs actually fell. The CIA, for example, interviewed contractors and workers, including Koreans and Pakistanis, who constructed the bunker and about 20 others like it in Baghdad during the Iran-Iraq war.

Satellite photographs of the building showed at least two additions: a newly hardened roof and communications equipment that was protected against electromagnetic effects of nuclear blasts. The satellites also snapped pictures of military vehicles parked outside and men in uniform entering and exiting the building. A wire-mesh fence surrounded the bunker; its roof had been painted with camouflage and fake bomb holes.

The clincher came last month, when U.S. intelligence satellites picked up radio transmissions from the bunker, sending orders to Iraqi military units in the Kuwait theater of operations. Missing from the accumulated evidence were any photos of civilians entering the bunker at night in search of safety. American officers say they assumed that civilians were being kept out because it was a military security area and the wire-mesh fence was there for that purpose.

Source: Adapted from Bruce W. Nelan, "The Air War: How Targets are Chosen," *Time Magazine*, February 25, 1991, p. 27.

READING 20B: US Bombs Hit Crowded Shelter

A senior civil defense official said scores of people remained buried and there was no hope that any of them were still alive. . . A black-robed woman survivor, cursing the U.S. screamed: "May the same fate be inflicted on them."

In a satellite telephone interview, which the BBC World Service said was free of Iraqi censorship, reporter Alan Little described the rescue operation as "almost panic-stricken."

Asked if there were any military or strategic installations nearby, he said: "Not as far as we could see and certainly as far as the Iraqi authorities would be prepared to tell us."

Source: Adapted from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 14, 1991, p. 1.

READING 20C: Not-So-Strategic Targets Hit

In the propaganda stakes, Iraq is now playing effectively the civilian-damage card, even though it is impossible to verify its claims. . . that one-third of the 96 air raids on Monday night were directed at

civilian targets.

Radio Baghdad said yesterday that enemy aircraft had attacked a number of bridges, "a general hospital, a maternity hospital, a nursery, civilian cars, a wooden bridge, a water storage tank and tents occupied by nomads."

The BBC's Alan Little reported from the Iraqi capital last night: "Shortly after midnight a series of explosions shook the center of the city. A fourth bridge over the Tigris took a direct hit."

Source: Adapted from Paul McGeogh, "Not-so-strategic Targets Reported Hit in Baghdad," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 14, 1991, p. 27.

READING 20D: Bunker Was Legitimate Target

Allied Leaders Claim Bombed Bunker Was Legitimate Military Target

HUNDREDS OF IRAQIS KILLED IN SHELTER

Hundreds of women and children were killed or wounded when American bombers blasted a packed air raid shelter in Baghdad yesterday. The heavy civilian toll, the greatest in a single incident in the war, stunned the world and led to renewed questioning of the bombing campaign.

Allied leaders moved swiftly to defend the attack, saying that the bunker was a military command and control center giving instructions directly to Iraqi forces. But the huge loss of life and the graphic pictures of the victims may have a devastating impact on public opinion.

Source: Martin Fletcher, "Allied Leaders Claim Bombed Bunker Was Legitimate Military Target," *The (London) Times*, February 14, 1991, p. 1.

READING 20E: The White House Response

Fitzwater's Statement on Bombing of Building in Iraq

Washington, Feb. 13 (Reuters)--Following is a transcript of a statement today by Martin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, as provided by News Transcripts, Inc.:

Last night coalition forces bombed a military command-and-control center in Baghdad that, according to press reports, resulted in a number of civilian casualties.

The bunker that was attacked last night was a military target, a command-and-control center that fed instructions directly to the Iraqi war machine, painted and camouflaged to avoid detection, and well documented as a military target. We have been systematically attacking these targets since the war began. We don't know why civilians were at this location. But we do know that Saddam Hussein does not share our value in the sanctity of

life. Indeed, he, time and again, has shown a willingness to sacrifice civilian lives and property that further his war aims.

Civilian hostages were moved in November and December to military sites for use as human shields. P.O.W.'s reportedly also have been placed at military sites.

Used with permission from Reuters. Adapted from *The New York Times*, February 14, 1991.

READING 20F: Reports from Manilla

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein apparently hopes by emphasizing causalities "to drive a wedge between the United States and the Arab world and Europe, and encourage the U.S. peace movement," said Jim Philips, a Middle East analyst with the Heritage Foundation.

Source: *Manilla Bulletin*, February 14, 1991, p. B-22

Iraqi officials claim 500 civilians were killed when bombs from a US Stealth jet struck a bomb shelter in a middle-class Baghdad neighborhood before dawn Wednesday.

With distraught relatives looking on, crews spent hours pulling charred bodies--mostly women and children from the rubble. Terry Gander, who edits Jane's NBC Protection Equipment annual: "The idea is that they are intended to be military shelters, but the upper area is let out to the locals," and downstairs is where military officials are set up.

Source: Adapted from *Manilla Bulletin*, February 15, 1991.

READING 20G: Pentagon Remarks

Washington, Feb. 13 (Reuters)--Excerpts from Pentagon Remarks on Iraqi Concrete Building's Destruction.

Navy Captain David Herrington: Why do we know this is a command-and-control facility? We know a great deal about this facility. For example, we know that in the early 80's during the Iran-Iraq War, this facility was constructed. But the key point is, it was converted to a military command-and-control facility in the late 1980's. As a part of that conversion, it was taken over by the military. There was clear and definite association with command-and-control equipment. That command-and-control equipment that was there was actually hardened--it was hardened to protect itself against both normal bombing attacks that would take place plus it was even hardened to the point that it would withstand a nuclear attack. In other words, it had electromagnetic over-pressure E.N.P. protection, electromagnetic pulse protection.

The point being that this is not a shelter in the classic sense of the word. It had a lot of military-associated equipment there. It has a camouflaged roof, and a barbed wire security fence around it.

General Thomas Kelly: First, everything we're seeing is coming out of a controlled press in Baghdad, so we don't know what all the facts are, we don't have a free press there asking hard questions like you all do here. We didn't know that there were people in there. I think I heard on TV earlier today they were going in there every night, but that was strictly hearsay. They could have been put in there last night. We simply don't know.

We don't know what the logic would be to put civilians in a place that had the roof painted camouflage and was the only building in the neighborhood that had the roof painted camouflage.

Used with permission from Reuters. Adapted from *The New York Times*, February 14, 1991.

READING 20H: Shelter Raid Blasted

BAGHDAD AIR RAID SHELTER BLASTED IN ALLIED ATTACK

Allied bombs hit a large air raid shelter in the center of Baghdad yesterday and many casualties were feared, the American Cable News Network reported.

CNN correspondent Peter Arnett said in a live report from the Iraqi capital that the shelter was built to accommodate 1,500 people. It took a direct hit during a night of intense air raids on Baghdad and Arnett and Iraqi officials regarded the blasting of the shelter as a major disaster.

Source: "Baghdad Air Raid Shelter Blasted in Allied Attack," *The Ethiopian Herald*, February 14, 1991, p. 1

READING 20I: Anger in Amiriya

There was thick smoke coming from the roof of a squat concrete building just ahead. A large crowd blocked our way. I saw a sign on a power pole with the traffic sign symbol of a running person, the word "Shelter" written in English and Arabic. I pushed my way through to a chain link fence that surrounded the smoking building. There was frenzied activity in the yard inside. Fire fighters were pushing a water hose up a ramp and into an open steel door in the building. Others were hacking at another entryway, which was jammed. Uniformed military officers were shouting orders. A truck was backed up to the ramp and firemen were carrying down bundles wrapped in blankets and Iraqi flags, and loading them into the vehicle. The crowd murmured in anguish whenever they emerged carrying the bodies.

The shelter manager, Hassan Janadi met me at the entrance. As Ala'a translated, an agitated Janadi estimated that more than four hundred civilians had been in the shelter, mostly women and children. Some had been trapped behind steel doors jammed shut by the intense heat. He said local people brought their own bedding and food to the bunker. This was one of twenty similar shelters around the city constructed in 1984. Ala'a was weeping. "How could America do this?"

We saw no paint or camouflage. Civilians I met at the scene said they had been using the shelter since

the war began. I saw an antenna about ten feet high but no other evidence of a high-tech command center. The shelter was located at the center of the suburban community, surrounded by a mosque, a school and a supermarket.

Source: Adapted from Peter Arnett, **Live from the Battlefield; From Vietnam to Baghdad, 35 Years in the World's War Zones**. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. 411-413.

READING 20J: Emotions at the Funeral

Emotions at the funeral swung chaotically from rage to grief and back again. Hundreds of men and women lined Basra Street as the pickups passed, each holding one or two coffins, many of them tiny. All were covered with the Iraqi flag, showing that the victim was considered a national martyr of war. Men fired bursts from Klashnikovs or shots from revolvers into the air. Others in the streets answered with more automatic fire. Some gunmen were as young as 12.

Most people had lost friends or family. Banners carried messages such as: "Bush killing civilians is a crime."

Salah Jubori, a merchant, left the parade to say: "I lost my sister, her daughter and her son, aged 15 and 18. They were killed while they were sleeping. I shall never rest until I see coffins in Washington. I can only think of revenge."

Source: Adapted from Marie Colvin, *The (London) Times*, February 14, 1991, p. 1.

READING 20K: World Reaction

World Reaction to Shelter Deaths and Success of Air Attacks Means Land War Near

BOMBING OF BUNKER HASTENS LAND WAR

Well-informed administration sources in Washington also said that the military success and the propaganda disaster of the Baghdad bombing pointed towards an acceleration in the course towards a ground war. Asked if the difficulty of avoiding civilian deaths was a factor in the military timetable, the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, said "everything is a factor."

At the same time, America is reassessing its targeting to try to avoid a similar public relations disaster. One idea being considered is publicizing attacks on certain "dual use" targets in advance.

Defense Department officials say it was perhaps inevitable that Saddam would show the political ruthlessness to turn the allies' technological advantage against them, purposely putting civilians in the path of laser-guided bombs. Senior planners admit that this tactic boosts the argument for diversionary tactics and an earlier start for the ground war.

Source: Adapted from Peter Stothard, "World Reaction to Shelter Deaths and Success of Air Attacks Means Land War Near," *The (London) Times*, February 14, 1991, p. 1.

READING 20L: Ripping the Hi-tech Veil

Expect no quarter, give no quarter is an old adage about any war, but here there was a deliberate and successful attempt to make the Gulf War look like a benign and righteous call to arms, in a manner that recalled the crusaders of old. Even after the first reports of the Baghdad bomb-shelter attack by a "precise" missile, the Pentagon statement from Washington is that they (the Pentagon) have no way of knowing if any of this is true--"we just have no way of knowing," the spokesman is alleged to have said. This ignorance in the hi-tech environment that spots Iraqi missile launchers in a matter of second[s] from as far away as Australia cuts little ice and erodes the credibility so necessary for instruments of state in any democracy. Is this the larger definition of the war's aim as prescribed in the U.N. resolution to liberate Kuwait--to flatten Iraqi women and children--or is it just "kicking ass," as an irate Mr. Bush had ounce threatened?

Source: Adapted from C. Uday Bhaskar (a Commander in the Indian Navy), "Ripping the Hi-tech Veil," *The Statesman* (Calcutta), February 14, 1991, p. 1 & 7.

READING 20M: Allied Raid Kills 700

Bahrain, Feb. 13--At least 700 civilians, most of them women and children, were feared killed when two U.S. missiles blasted an underground bomb shelter in Baghdad early this morning, reports PTI, quoting Iraqi Radio and Western correspondents in Baghdad. But the Pentagon claimed it had no way of confirming the bombing. CNN's Peter Arnett reporting live from Baghdad quoted the manager of the shelter, Mr. Abdullah Azzan Hussan Jamali, as saying that 150 to 250 bodies had been removed so far from the shelter which housed a school, a mosque and a supermarket in al-Ameriya district.

A CBS broadcast in Washington said that there was no military installation anywhere in the middle class neighborhood. The Iraqi Health Minister, Mr. Abdul Salaam Mohammed, said in Baghdad the bombing was a "criminal, premeditated and well-planned attack against civilians."

The attack coming in the wake of repeated U.S. denial of civilian targeting by the allied forces is certain to strengthen the Soviet charge that the coalition was far exceeding the U.N. resolution mandate to drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait.

The CBS broadcast said: "The charred and mutilated remains of the victims were being carried out in a blanket. Some were hardly recognizable as human. Some people wept uncontrollably. One officer said several members of a single family had died."

Arnett said when the journalists were taken to the site after about three hours after the incident, "There was tremendous heat there (inside). Firemen were trying to pull the steel door which they said contains rooms where women and children were spending the night," Arnett reported.

BBC correspondent Jeremy Bowen, who quoted a figure of more than 400 dead, said hostile Iraqis denounced foreign reporters at the scene as "criminals, savages and animals." Adding: "I was glad to

get away."

He said he saw bodies badly mutilated and burned. A BBC announcer said some pictures received were too dreadful to show.

The U.S. President, Mr. George Bush has at the same time rejected as "lies" the eye-witness accounts by the Soviet presidential envoy, Mr. Yevgeni Primakov, and Western correspondents of civilian casualties and damage in Baghdad and insisted that the accounts were cranked out by "the Iraqi propaganda machine."

Back from a week's visit to Iraq, the former U.S. Attorney-General Mr. Ramsey Clark, said in New York that the U.S. coalition bombing of civilian targets and areas to break the will of Iraqi people amounted to "war crimes." He urged the U.N. to send an investigation team.

Source: Adapted from *The Statesman* (Calcutta), February 14, 1991, p. 1.

READING 20N: "Hundreds Killed" in Bunker

An unrepentant Bush Administration courted a propaganda disaster and put the cohesion of the Gulf alliance at risk yesterday, insisting in the teeth of televised evidence of hundreds of civilians corpses that US precision-guided weapons had struck "the legitimate military target of a command bunker" in Baghdad.

Mr. Aziz said there were 400 people, mainly women and children, in the building when the bombs struck. He wrote in protest to the United Nations Secretary-General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar: "We request the United Nations, and request you personally, to condemn this hideous crime."

This grim evidence that the new "smart" weapons are only as good as the intelligence which identifies their targets was the first serious sign of fallibility in the hi-tech US war machine.

The defiant reaction of the White House and the Pentagon suggested that the US was slow to appreciate the political impact of the incident.

The US Defense Secretary, Richard Cheney, said that two US bombs were dropped intentionally "with great precision" on a reinforced Baghdad command and control bunker.

He said that President Saddam Hussein "may have indeed encouraged civilians to occupy what he knew to be a military facility."

In the Commons, Douglas Hurd, the foreign Secretary, described the bombing as a tragedy, but insisted that "the responsibility lies heavily with someone like Saddam Hussein who commits aggression."

The US Central Command in Riyadh, which ordered the raid, evidently decided yesterday that if it was going to be criticized anyway, the best form of defense was attack.

The spokesman in Riyadh, Brigadier-General Richard Neal, said it was a deliberate and technically

successful raid on a legitimate military target--a hardened command and control bunker. He said the air force planners felt "very comfortable" with their choice of target. It was a big, hardened structure recently camouflaged with fresh paint, and for the past two weeks had been in communication with Iraqi forces in the Kuwait theater of operations.

Asked if the US regretted civilian deaths, General Neal said: "You're damn right. The coalition had repeatedly stressed that it was not intent on destroying the Iraqi people. If 400 civilians had been killed, as reported, then the American people would be saddened."

Source: © *The (Manchester) Guardian*, February 14, 1991, p. 1. Used with permission.

ACTIVITY 21: The Media's Performance

Introduction

When the war was over most Americans believed that the press and media had covered the Gulf War extensively. Most reporters and editors were very upset with the military's and government's attempts to control the news about the war. These readings examine these problems.

Student Objectives

- To understand the need for censorship during wartime.
- To understand the limits of censorship.
- To evaluate the performance of the news gathering and reporting system during the Gulf War.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Copies of Readings 21A and B for each student; poster paper and markers or a chalkboard

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Reading 21A. After the students have read it, ask them to consider:

   Why is the truth the first casualty of war?

   Why did the military deceive the press?

   Should the government always tell the truth?

   What happens when the government is caught in telling a lie?

   Why did most governments impose censorship during wartime?
2. Distribute Reading 21B. After the students have read it, ask them to consider:

   Why were the press and editors upset with the coverage of the Gulf War?

   Should the governments have restricted reporters more? Less?

   Should these restrictions have lasted for longer periods of time?

3. On poster paper or on the chalkboard make a list of stories that were not adequately covered during the war. Ask the students to consider:

   Why weren't these stories adequately covered during the war?

   What might have been the results if these stories had been adequately handled during the war?

Activity 21, The Media's Performance

READING 21A: The First Casualty

California's Senator Hiram Johnson stated during World War I that "the first casualty when war comes is truth." This statement has been true during every war since then and was particularly true during the Gulf War.

The military deceived the press by serving up contradictory or confusing figures about battle damage, and about the destruction of Iraqi targets. The most significant deception was the impression that a Marine landing was planned when in fact it was a means to convince Iraq that it had to deploy troops to block an invasion from the sea. As Pentagon press officer Pete Williams put it, "We were not trying to deceive the press. We were trying to fool Saddam Hussein." He said a Marine trial exercise was scheduled and the television reporters clamored to cover it.

A former State Department spokesman noted that "Our government is in the business of propaganda, which is not the same thing as lying, but definitely not the same thing as truth." The Pentagon-released pictures of precision-guided "smart" bombs going down chimneys of Iraqi targets left an impression that we rarely missed, but these were a small part of the total bomb load dropped in 43 days of aerial attacks. Some 82,000 tons of unguided bombs were dropped, and their accuracy rating was 25 percent, not the 90 percent of the smart bombs. Of 88,500 tons of bombs dropped, 70 percent missed their targets. That was not the impression left by the videotapes.

Of course, the censorship imposed by the American military was not the only censorship imposed during the war. Turkish state television barred scenes of anything hinting at U.S. bombing raids originating in that country. Saudi Arabia censored all foreign publications, and banned those with articles dealing with the Palestine Liberation Organization or Iraqi civilian bombing casualties. The newest U.S. ally, Syria, detained writers and intellectuals for expressing support for Iraq. France banned any pro-Iraqi publications and the BBC dropped a report on the export to Iraq of British-built super guns on the grounds that the tone was wrong. In Iraq, CNN reporter Peter Arnett was heavily restricted in what he could write or show. He was not allowed to show or discuss any military damage nor was he permitted to talk freely to ordinary citizens without a government escort. Israel placed restrictions on reporters regarding the effects of the damage caused by Iraqi Scud missiles.

Governments try to put the best face on their actions, try to hide embarrassing matters, mislead reporters if it serves their goals. In a free society, the press in its traditional role as witness and watchdog should ferret out as much fact as it can. In the euphoria that followed the Gulf War and with the tremendous public acclaim for the president and the military, these were not issues that the journalist could press, at least with any expectation of public support.

Governments have always censored reporters and it is likely that they always will. What was new in the Gulf War was the extent to which the military successfully spoofed the press until conditions permitted journalists to break away from those restrictions, and also the extent to which the new technologies spawned by satellite communications permitted the public to be a witness to the raw material of press coverage.

In many ways the war was not really televised. Most coverage was from hotels in Saudi Arabia or Baghdad. Rather than filming the action during the war, the coverage mainly consisted of talking heads telling about the war. These programs engaged in speculation, but conveyed little information about the war itself. The military supplied the news that came out of the gulf through videotapes and briefings. In this way, the military used the press to promulgate its own policies and spread disinformation to the Iraqis. The well-prepared military briefers were viewed more favorably than the journalists who appeared rude, uninformed and inarticulate.

A German publication observed that "the impatient television gobbles up all time for consideration, all time for checking and weighing information--time that democracy urgently requires. Thus the triumph of the news could spell the demise of democracy, which would be replaced by the rule of speed. The highest-speed journalism avails itself of military methods, draws near the military, and thus risks losing its independence and credibility. Democracy can protect itself only by rediscovering slowness."

Student Questions

Why were reporters upset with their own coverage of the war?

Why did most of the governments and military restrict and censor the activities of reporters?

Should the governments have restricted reporters more? Less?

Should these restrictions have lasted for longer periods of time?

READING 21B: How Was the Coverage of the War?

Based upon their experiences in previous wars, reporters and editors expected that they could roam about the battlefield freely, develop their own sources, and provide a wide set of perspectives. The military expected that reporters should be contained and the news channeled based on their experiences in Vietnam.

From the perspective of many in the press the coverage of the war was badly done. Michael Getler, foreign editor of *The Washington Post*, stated that "Along with the Iraqis, the civilian and military leaders of the U.S. did a pretty good job of mopping up the press in Operation Desert Storm. No one seems to care very much about this except several hundred reporters and editors who know they've been had." *The Washington Post, The New York Times* and several other news organizations complained that the military obstructed their role of providing timely, independent war reports to the American people.

The success of American troops in the Gulf War, the speed with which the war was fought and the low casualties combined to conceal from the public that much of what it was told about the war was the military's highly selective information.

To many other observers, the coverage was proper under the circumstances. Government leaders respond that the information supplied by the military kept Americans informed while preserving the secrecy necessary for military operations. Allowing reporters to roam freely in the war zone, as many did during the Vietnam War, was neither practical nor desirable, they argueed. U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, the person most responsible for imposing the press and media restrictions, stated that "there was better coverage, more extensive coverage, more elaborate coverage, greater knowledge on the part of the American people, about this war, as it unfolded, than any other war in history." Cheney believed that in times of armed conflict, the military needs had to take precedence over journalistic rights, and past practice needed to be disregarded. He also believed that the government needed to guard its credibility. It should not make claims that it could not back up.

The American public agreed with the press restrictions, and in general the public supported military's handling of the media. Several polls indicated that they accepted the restrictions on the press as a legitimate price for conducting a major military campaign. In an American opinion survey completed a few months after the war, 91 percent responded favorably to the news media's war performance. However, 39 percent said Saddam Hussein had too great of an opportunity to make his case. Forty-four percent said the news media was often inaccurate. In addition, 64 percent believed that the news media made it difficult for government to conduct war.

Part of the reason for this negative view toward reporters was the broadcasting of the military briefings which permitted the public to "eavesdrop" on a meeting originally set up as part of the *news gathering* process. Before the public was able to attend, the only important component at a briefing was the information provided by, or elicited from, the briefer. The viewer at home reacts not only to the information developed, but even more to the behavior of the participants. The reporters involved, emerged as the heavies. Never before had the media faced the dilemma of the impact of a genuine "live on television" war or the admission of the public into the briefing room.

Student Questions

Why did Americans have a negative view of the press as indicated by the opinion surveys?

Why were correspondents and editors upset with their coverage of the war?

How did the military control the press and the electronic media?

Why did the military control the news gathering process in the war zone?

International Conflict and the Media

ACTIVITY 22: What is the Role of Reporters in War?

Introduction

The United States Constitution guarantees freedom of the press. During war, this freedom has often been restricted by the United States government. This activity helps students begin to see the variety of potential positions on the complex question of what should be the role of the news media during conflict. The object of this activity is not to convince students that any particular position is correct. It is rather to help them begin to understand the arguments, many of which will come up again in subsequent activities.

Student Objectives

- To understand the complex relationships that exist between the news media and the government during periods of international conflict.
- To analyze and evaluate different positions related to the news media and international conflict.
- To understand that correspondents who hold these positions will offered different perspectives upon events and issues that arise during an international conflict.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Copies of Reading 22A -- one role for each group; copies of Reading 22B for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. Introduce the activity by discussing the Constitutional right of a free press. If you have used Activity 2, you might remind the students of some of the issues raised in that activity.
2. Divide the class into six groups. Distribute copies of Reading 22A -- one position to each group. Ask the students to read the position, and discuss in thier groups what the position means. Visit each group and ask what they think the position means. Ask each group to select a spokesperson to present the position to the entire class.
3. Pull the class back together and ask each spokesperson to report on its position. Have the class discuss the different positions offered. After sufficient discussion, ask the students how correspondents who believed those positions might report upon different events during an international conflict. Finally, ask the students to analyze the strengths and weakness of each of those positions.
4. Distribute Reading 22B. After the students have read it, ask them to consider:

What do they believe is the proper balance between the people's right to know and national security during wartime?

What if the Gulf War had gone on for years rather than just days? Should the censorship have continued?

What if American casualties had been much higher?

Activity 22, What is the Role of Reporters in War?

READING 22A: Role Play

POSITION A

When a nation goes to war, freedom of the press should be curtailed. Secrecy needs to be maintained or lives of American military forces will be at risk. After the war, the press and media can print or broadcast whatever it chooses to report, but during the war it must be subordinate to military needs. The press should only report information given by the United States government or proper military authorities. Anything else may harm America's ability to fight the war. All battlefield reports should be strictly controlled or censored. In general, the press should be supportive of the government and the miliary during the war.

POSITION B

The United States Constitution guarantees freedom of the press. It is such a precious right that it should not be curtailed or limited under any circumstances. While there are a few military matters that should not be published (movements of military forces, for instance), the press and electronic media should be able to publish everything else, even when it is critical of the government's or the military's handling of a particular situation. Too often the government and the military hide their mistakes behind a curtain of secrecy. The job of an independent and objective press is to seek out these mistakes and report them.

POSITION C

Newspapers and electronic media are businesses. Their main job is to sell news and boost advertising revenues. Editors and reporters have a responsibility to the owners or stockholders and should therefore do what is in their best financial interest. If a war or conflict is popular, it is best to support it because more newspapers will be sold, more people will tune into the broadcasts, and advertising revenues will increase. If the war is unpopular, it is best to criticize it as often as possible for the same reasons. It is never good to be too far ahead of public opinion.

POSITION D

Newspapers and the broadcast press often attack the American military and government during war. Correspondents think they know so much about the topics on which they report, but really the government and the military have much better sources of information. Democracies elect their leaders. During international conflicts it is best to give the benefit of doubt to our elected leaders and support them. News people who do not support our nation during times of conflict should be shut down.

POSITION E

Because the United States has a powerful military, there is a tendency among governmental leaders to use it in situations that do not require military force. Use of the military can generate strong patriotic feelings among Americans and therefore boost the support for governmental leaders. Likewise, going to war helps the economy and creates jobs. It is better to resolve international conflicts without the use of

force. The role of the news media is to encourage the peaceful resolution of conflict, and hence prevent unnecessary conflict. If war begins, the role of the news media is to critically analyze and scrutinize the activities of the government and military. The news media should not be a propaganda arm of the U.S. government.

POSITION F

America is the strongest nation in the world. While it is nice to resolve conflict peacefully, occasionally it is necessary to threaten the use of military force to resolve important conflicts. When military force is needed, it is the responsibility of all Americans to support our men and women in uniform. Failure to do so may make it more difficult for America to win the war, and will place American lives in jeopardy. The role of the press is to support the war effort. If correspondents fail to support the war, they should be considered unpatriotic and traitors. They should be dealt with accordingly.

READING 22B: What is the Role of Reporters in Wartime?

Many reporters, who were inexperienced in the technology of modern warfare, poorly understood the exotic weapons and therefore were totally dependent on the military's explanations and evaluation of their performance. Unlike Vietnam, the Persian Gulf War was so swift that it was impossible to gain substantive knowledge. Use of reservists made the war popular and the public was impatient with the press when it showed skepticism about the war effort, or probed for shortcomings, inconsistencies and mistakes. The result during the Persian Gulf War was press coverage that glorified American and allied triumphs, fueling a surge of public patriotism. But is this the proper role of the press and media during periods of conflict?

Some observers believe that the press' role is to remain aloof and serve as a watchdog of the government and the military. CNN correspondent Peter Arnett stated, "I learned in Vietnam to believe only what my eyes have seen as [opposed to] anything I hear from any official of any government or from any person. I have an inborn skepticism because I am a journalist. I can only confirm what my eyes see." CNN's Bernard Shaw believed that his role as a journalist was to be neutral, even though as an American citizen he might take sides. However, he could not let his personal beliefs interfere with his neutral role as a journalist.

Others strongly disagree. The press, particularly during time of war, has a responsibility to line up behind the government and the military to support the war effort. The media's role in time of war emphasized the press' responsibility to support the war effort. Because the draft ended in 1973, most journalists who covered the Persian Gulf War had never worn a uniform and were antiwar. As a result of whining reporters badgering the military briefers and the negative and nit-picking press reports that followed, the American public saw just how antiwar the press was. As a result, the public's distaste for the press increased. The adversarial relationship between the press and the government did not play well with the American people when the nation was at war. The press is a part of the American society and should conduct itself with a sense of responsibility toward that society. The public realized the paramount objective of war is victory. Reed Levine, chairman of Accuracy In Media said, "In wartime, the rules change. The press cannot stay neutral."

American journalists who attempted to present balanced reporting of the war met with hostility from the public and the government. When media outlets aired alternative interpretations of the U.S. war with Iraq, some condemned the media for giving comfort and aid to the enemy. Senator Alan Simpson accused CNN's Peter Arnett of complicity with Iraq for reporting the Baghdad government's side of the war. At CNN's Atlanta headquarters, pickets protested the network's coverage of the enemy's perspective. Other U.S. media entities that tried to present Baghdad's side of events were criticized for giving a perspective other than that of the United States. Readers of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* objected to a headline about the bombing of the civilian bunker in Baghdad because it gave too much credence to the Iraqi government's contention that the building was a civilian bomb shelter and not a military command and control center, as asserted by the U.S. military.

Striking the proper balance between the people's right to know and the military's need for secrecy has always been a contentious rhetorical battleground. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Homes wrote

in his decision affirming the conviction of an antiwar pamphleteer during World War I under the Espionage Act: "When a nation is at war, many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured as long as men fight and that no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional rights."

Student Questions

What do you believe is the proper balance between the people's right to know and national security during wartime?

What if the Gulf War had gone on for years rather than just days? Should the censorship have continued?

What if American casualties had been much higher? Should censorship have been imposed upon the number of Americans who died?

ACTIVITY 23: Peter Arnett *in* Baghdad

Introduction

This activity examines the case of CNN's correspondent who stayed in Baghdad during the war. Peter Arnett was criticized by many Americans, including Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming. The Readings here explore the issues connected with Arnett's broadcasting from Iraq while the United States was making war on that nation.

Student Objectives

- To further explore the role of a reporter in during wartime.
- To consider what should be the role of a multinational news organization, such as CNN, during wartime.
- To examine the cases made by Arnett and those who opposed to his remaining in Baghdad.
- To analyze and evaluate different perspectives on an issue.

Time

2-3 class periods

Materials

Copies of Readings 23A-G -- one for each group

Recommended Procedures

1. Remind the students that the last activity detailed the role of the reporter in wartime. This activity focuses upon a particular instance of one reporter, Peter Arnett, who remained behind in Baghdad after the Gulf War began. Arnett reported from Iraq throughout the war. His reports were approved by Iraqi censors.
2. Divide the class into five groups. Distribute Readings A-G -- one to each group and ask each group to discuss and report on their reading. After the reports have finished ask the students to consider the issues connected with Peter Arnett remaining in Baghdad. The students should be able to explain their reasoning:

   Was Arnett patriotic?

   How was Arnett censored by the Iraqis?

   Did Iraqi censorship differ from censorship in Saudi Arabia?

Is CNN an American news service or an international service?

What is the role of an American vs. an international news service during wartime?

What was the difference between Iraqi and American military censorship?

Activity 23, Peter Arnett in Baghdad

READING 23A: Blaming the Carrier

Blaming the carrier of bad or disturbing news was evident in the conduct of the Gulf War. The criticism of the press in general, and of Peter Arnett of CNN in particular, for distributing and carrying information and opinion that seemed unsupportive of the allied forces is the most obvious case.

Source: Thomas McCain and Leonard Shyles, **The 1,000 Hour War; Communication in the Gulf**. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.

READING 23B: Balanced Views?

American journalists who attempted to present balanced reporting of the war met with hostility from the public and the government. When media outlets aired alternative interpretations of the U.S. war with Iraq, some condemned the media for giving comfort and aid to the enemy. Senator Alan Simpson accused CNN's Peter Arnett of complicity with Iraq for his reporting the Baghdad government's side of the war. At CNN's Atlanta headquarters, pickets protested the network's coverage of the enemy's perspective. Other U.S. media entities that tried to present Baghdad's side of events were also criticized for giving a perspective other than that of the United States. Readers of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* objected to a headline about the bombing of the civilian bunker in Baghdad. It gave too much credence to the Iraqi government's contention that the building was civilian bomb shelter and not a military command and control center, as asserted by the U.S. military.

Source: Thomas McCain and Leonard Shyles, **The 1,000 Hour War; Communication in the Gulf**. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. p. 27.

READING 23C: Why I Stayed Behind

The reason I stayed in Baghdad is quite simple: reporting is what I do for a living. I made the full commitment to journalism years ago. There was no question about CNN staying in Baghdad---it became a question of who would do it. I was summoned to Baghdad at the eleventh hour unexpectedly when it became clear to CNN that the Iraqis might permit our coverage beyond the January 15 deadline. Would I help?

Upon my arrival in Baghdad, on the eve of war, I saw a repeat of what happened during the fall of Saigon. Reporters were bailing out for various reasons. I watched with wonder as this rich journalistic prize fell into fewer and fewer hands. Four days after the war began, only 17 journalists remained from the hundreds who had covered Baghdad.

Everybody out, the Iraqis said, except CNN. Even CNN isn't sure why they made that decision. Perhaps it is because CNN alone is seen globally. What the Iraqis told us is that they had found our coverage since August to have been "fair."

My means of communication was the INMARSAT [International Maritime Satellite] phone, a

suitcase-sized link with the world. I'd drag it out each evening and aim at the heavens, while dialing into the International Desk at CNN Atlanta. At my end, we crouched in the chill of the evening, "we" being I and at least one Iraqi censor, or "minder" as these censors became called. I prepared a simple, two-minute script that the minder approved, and that I then read into the phone.

From the first day, I established a procedure that I believe saved my credibility and made my presence in Baghdad a valuable one. That procedure was a question-and-answer routine between the CNN anchor of the hour and me that followed each prepared script. The Iraqis were uncomfortable with it from the beginning because they could neither censor the questions nor my answers.

The only rule I followed in these Q&A sessions was that I would not discuss matters of military security. Thus I didn't talk about Scud missiles I'd seen barreling northwards on camouflaged trucks; I didn't mention the antiaircraft weapons on buildings around the Al Rashid Hotel, and I gave no details on military targets. Why did the Iraqis allow these Q&A sessions? I told them from the beginning that I was risking my life in Baghdad, but I was not prepared to risk my credibility. I accepted the limitations of military security, I said, but I needed the freedom to better explore the phenomenon of being in a capital at war.

Criticism I accept--and expect. It's the labeling that angers me. For covering the Vietnam War the way we did, many of us were labeled "enemy sympathizers," if not communists. For being in Baghdad when I was, I was again labeled a sympathizer, if not a fascist.

I'd go anywhere for a story if there was enough viewer interest and CNN wanted coverage.

Source: Adapted from Peter Arnett, "Why I Stayed Behind," Hedrick Smith, ed. **The Media and the Gulf War: The Press and Democracy in Wartime**. Washington, DC: Seven Locks Press, 1992. pp 308-314. Used with permission.

READING 23D: Arnett

It was important for Arnett and other reporters to be in Baghdad. It was important that people see something more of the consequences of the bombing than the photographs through targeting cross hairs beloved of Pentagon warriors. Nothing is harder or more essential to remember in the heat of war than that the other side is made up of human beings, too.

What was missing from most of the Baghdad reports was a degree of distance from the approved material, a touch of the skepticism that Washington reporters display when talking about American politicians. Wherefore the untypical deference? Were the correspondents afraid they would be kicked out if they hedged their reports a bit? Were they carried away by the professional temptation to squeeze emotion from scenes of pain? Were they feeling normal sympathy for people under attack?

All right, the coverage from Baghdad was only part of television's effort; Washington and Riyadh supplied most of the news. Judging Arnett and other television reporters in Baghdad from afar is an easier assignment than the one they carried out, under tough conditions and with admirable perseverance. Yet aspects of their performance remain troubling, not from a patriotic point of view, but from a professional one. The question nags, whether they adapted too readily to their host's scenario,

whether they might not have found more ways to talk to viewers over, behind, beneath, and around those friendly minders.

Source: Adapted from Walter Goodman, "Arnett," Hedrick Smith, ed. **The Media and the Gulf War: The Press and Democracy in Wartime**. Washington, DC: Seven Locks Press, 1992. pp 330-335. Used with permission.

READING 23E: Opinion Polls

Numerous opinion polls were conducted throughout the war. With regard to the views on the American news media, the evaluations by respondents were generally positive and became more positive as the war went on. Regarding the special case of "American news organizations broadcasting news from Iraq that has been censored by the Iraqi government," equal numbers of respondents in late January 1991 supported and disapproved. By mid-February, two-thirds of the respondents said that having reports cleared by Iraqi censors was better than no reporters in Iraq at all, and that reporters were gathering valuable information that they might report after they leave. When Iraqi censorship was not mentioned, 51% of the respondents approved of Arnett and other news organizations broadcasting from Iraq and 38% disapproved.

Source: Adapted from J. Ronald Milavsky and Ignacio Galceran, "The Public's Reaction to a Mediated War," in Bradley S. Greenberg and Walter Gantz, eds. **Desert Storm and the Mass Media**. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc., 1993, p 256.

READING 23F: Sympathizers

Cheyenne, Wyo. (AP) Sen. Alan Simpson said Tuesday that reporters in Iraq covering the Gulf War are hurting the U.S.-led allies and can only be considered sympathizers of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Saddam's military is using reporters to shield movements of Scud missiles, the Wyoming Republican said, and seeing that they file stories on injuries to civilians by allied bombing runs.

Last week Simpson called Peter Arnett, the Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter in Baghdad for the Cable News Network, an Iraqi sympathizer for his reports, which clearly are marked as subject to Iraqi censorship.

Simpson said Tuesday that part of his distaste for reporters in Iraq stems from the views of reporters covering World War II. At that time, any reporter working behind enemy lines and staying with Axis forces was considered a sympathizer, he said.

A coalition of conservative organizations announced in Washington on Tuesday that it is asking CNN to withdraw Arnett from Baghdad, saying his broadcasts are "far more effective propaganda" than those of Tokyo Rose in World War II.

"At no time has the network misrepresented the conditions under which the news in that country is gathered and reported," Ed Turner, CNN's executive vice president, said in a statement from Atlanta. "We remain in Baghdad to do our best to report that side of the story."

Simpson also said Tuesday that while he believes journalists who submitted their work to Iraqi censorship are "compromising" themselves, he does not believe that is true for people reporting on the allied side.

"This is a limitation done by the United States for a singular purpose," Simpson said, "To protect the lives of men and women in Desert Storm."

Used with permission from the Associated Press. Adapted from *The Japan Times*, February 14, 1991.

READING 23G: The Case against CNN and Peter Arnett

Evidently, CNN will be praised for its coverage of Desert Storm and never castigated for allowing Peter Arnett and, in return, themselves to be used by Saddam Hussein's propaganda machine. Iraq failed to turn the American public against the war. They flunked in their effort, solely, because the war lasted only 42 days. An extended war might have had a negative influence on American opinion, especially with an elevation of charges against the U.S. military of premeditated attacks on the civilian population of Iraq.

We all know about the Arnett reports being censored by the Iraqis, but that didn't seem to have much weight when you consider what brought about the end of the Vietnam War no matter how vindicated we feel ending that action.

Vo Nguyen Giap, North Vietnam's most famous general, once said, "The war was fought on many fronts. At that time, the most important front was the American public opinion."

If there was ever any doubt that Saddam Hussein was planning to copy the successful strategy of Ho Chi Minh, his January 28 interview with Peter Arnett should have removed it, aired on CNN. He said:

"I hope that you will tell the Americans that we wish them well and we pray that none of their sons will die, that none of their lives will be lost. And that all the people of Iraq are grateful to all the noble souls amongst the U.S. people who are coming out into the streets and demonstrating against this war . . . We follow with keenness this sublime level of humanity, which comes out to counter the policies of aggression that are being planned through the corridors of evil, penetrated and dominated by criminal Zionism . . . "

Saddam Hussein appreciated what the media was doing on his behalf. Because it fitted his strategy, he permitted CNN to keep Peter Arnett in Baghdad and allowed them to bring in expensive equipment needed to transmit his reports by satellite. CNN served as the Voice of Baghdad, and Saddam Hussein didn't even have to pay one penny of the costs. We have embargoed his oil and other exports to keep him from earning dollars, but we permitted him to earn dollars from the airing of his propaganda to the 105 countries that can pick up CNN transmissions.

After World War II, we captured and tried Iva Toguri, the American citizen who broadcasted the "news" from Tokyo under the name of "Tokyo Rose."

The British hanged as a traitor William Joyce who, as "Lord Haw Haw," broadcasted the "news" from Berlin.

What Iva Toguri and William Joyce did for our enemies in that war was less than what CNN was doing for Iraq during Desert Storm.

Incredible as it may seem an American TV network has put its worldwide facilities at the disposal of a dictator with whom we were at war.

Source: Adapted from Ed DeMello, **At the Expense of Victory: A Desert Storm Diary of News Media Coverage**. PO Box 766, Fairview, New Jersey: Kenobi Productions, 1994, pp 303- 304. Used with permission.

ACTIVITY 24: Implications for the Future

Introduction

Marshal McLuhan, author of **Understanding Media: The Extension of Man**, was one of first observers to recognize the impact of media upon society. According to McLuhan, "societies have always been shaped more by the nature of the media by which men communicate than by the content of the communication." The media sends a message along with the message. Perception and interpretation will be affected by the simultaneous messages. The extension of any one sense alters the way we think and act. The way we think and act creates a new environment, what McLuhan referred to as the "global village." Constant exposure to television results in the sharing of common "TV stimuli" by everyone in society. Process creates a reservoir of common media experiences that are stored in our brains. Each medium conditions the brain to receive and to process information in specified ways. The role of audience is altered.

Clearly, there were linkages among three variables: 1) the press and media; 2) public opinion; and 3) the government's ability to pursue the Gulf War. The government influenced the press and media. The press and media influence public opinion. But public opinion also influenced the press and was certainly a factor in decision making in the government.

In many ways the Gulf War was an aberration. It is unlikely that the events that created and sustained the Gulf War will be duplicated in future conflicts. However, like the Vietnam War, those who participated in the Gulf War learned lessons that will influence future relationships between the military and the press. This activity examines some of these lessons that may be drawn from the Gulf War.

Student Objectives

- To understand what the military learned from the Gulf War vis-a-vis the press.
- To learn what the press learned from the Gulf War vis-a-vis the military.
- To project future relationship between the military and the press based upon experiences in the Gulf War.
- To understand how technology changed reporting during the war and understand that technology will likely change reporting in future conflicts.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Copies of Readings 24A-C for each student

Recommended Procedures

1. Distribute Reading 24A. After the students have read it, ask them to consider:

   What were the real issues in the Gulf War?

   What role did technology play in the war?

   What role will technology likely play in a future conflict?
2. Distribute Reading 24B. After the students have read it, ask them to consider:

   What role did television play during the war?

   Why did the military and the government want to control television?

   What role does television play in their own lives?

   Why will television likely play an important role in conflicts in the future?
3. Distribute Reading 24C. Explain to the students that in addition to reporting the news, the press and media are also actors in the foreign policy. This Reading examines the specific role of television. After the students have read the selection, ask them to consider:

   What role would they project for television in future crises or wars based upon the Reading?

   How has television changed the way foreign policy is made?

   Are these changes good or bad?
4. Whatever position the students take, be sure that they justify them. Ask other students if they agree or disagree with other students. If they disagree with other students, make them support their opinions.

Extending the Lesson

1. Ask the students to read Marshall McLuhan's **Understanding Media: The Extension of Man**, and determine what implications McLuhan's observations have for the future.

Activity 24, Implications for the Future

READING 24A: The Real Issues

Prior to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, there was little media interest in Iraq and almost no interest in the United States's relationship with Iraq. Saddam Hussein's clumsy attempts to manipulate the media backfired, and the media reported his brutality and destructiveness. The media had little impact upon the decision to begin the ground war, but it did have influence upon targeting to avoid collateral damage, as noted in the case study the "Bombed-Out Bomb Shelter." By and large, media did not have a major influence upon U.S. policy during the Gulf War. However, the U.S. government clearly concerned itself with fighting a war for public support by restricting and controlling information from the war and using the classic practices of public relations.

The government did use the media for getting out their messages and for getting out policies, and for developing domestic and international support. One difficulty is that when you are broadcast on CNN you have only one message, yet when it is seen and heard simultaneously around the world, it is seen and heard differently due to the multiple audiences. Television can magnify the impact of particular events.

Newspapers may have had a greater impact than did television. Journalists could often get to policy makers as they ate their breakfast. Columnists and journalists were good indicators of where there were potential weaknesses in getting the message out. Television could easily be manipulated by what it shows and what is not shown. Television turned out to be a new and very important news source--not just for the public, but also for policy makers. Television accelerates the pace of events. Communication is now instant, and in some cases it replaced diplomatic notes. This has drawbacks because it does not provide for reflective thinking. Television pressures policy makers into creating black and white images.

The real issue was that the news was instantaneous and continuous. High technology, including electronic mail, computer-to-computer communications, digital transmission of still photographs, and satellite transmissions, played a key role in news gathering in the Persian Gulf Conflict. This was America's first "real-time" television War.

Communication processes dramatically altered events as they happened. The role played by Cable News Network (CNN) is a good example of how communications changed events simply by reporting them. A full appreciation of the role of communication in understanding the Gulf War illustrates the blurred distinction between reporting news and making news. From both journalistic and military perspectives, Gulf War communication analysis should begin with the premise that nothing communicated was left in a pristine condition. An important feature of the communication systems that operated during the Gulf War was that they profoundly altered the conduct and coverage of the war. The use of satellite technology by CNN has changed the nature of the market for news worldwide.

The scarcity of portable up-link units further emphasizes the obvious. Since there had been only limited demand for this technology prior to the war, most news organizations did not have it. CNN's coverage, which catapulted the network into a position of news leader, was not successful because of superior technology, but because CNN installed an outgoing telephone line from Baghdad to Jordan rather than

to Saudi Arabia or some other Western ally that was instantly cut off when the bombing started. A highly efficient communication systems could be quickly put in place across the desert, allowing for rapid and immediate distribution of information.

CNN stories spoke to three underlying themes--the Americanization of the war, the role of participation of the media in the war, and the "gee whiz" use of military and telecommunications technology as a determining factor. But this should not be interpreted to mean that everyone got the same story. The national news networks of 20 different countries in the world produced essentially 20 different spins on the event. These different narratives reflected different national sentiments toward the Gulf War and its participants as well as the strength of each country's involvement in or distance from it. CNN had long claimed, and world leaders have confirmed, that it is watched in all major world capitals. Reports held that Saddam watched it throughout the war. It certainly was monitored by Iraqi leaders. Media commentators said, "CNN has become the preeminent world-news service."

Student Questions

Why was television more important during the Gulf War than in previous conflicts?

What was the special significance of CNN?

Why did the Iraqi leaders monitor CNN?

What might you expect will be the role of television in future conflicts?

READING 24B: Looking to the Future

Vietnam may have been the first television war, but Gulf war was America's first "real time" television war. We were able to see events as they really happened, not as recorded for later presentation. Perspective and analysis were left to the news magazines and newspapers. Instant history is simultaneous, global, mass, brief and intensive bursts; images of Vietnam were prepackaged--days old. Crises unfold before our eyes too fast for thoughtful consideration, examination alternatives, or projection of long range consequences. The conditioned reflex created by the television war are potentially dangerous.

In the Gulf War the media became a strategic tool and a weapon in the military's arsenal: how do you preserve freedom of the press as well as national security in times of war? The dilemma is how to preserve freedom of the press and maintain national security in times of war. The press was caught in a balancing act between providing adequate information for informed citizenry and the security of national interests. Can a nation engaged in combat risk openness and access of the media to any military operation? To control content is to control public perceptions and attitudes. Thus the press does more than inform; it also creates the reality toward which we act. Television images are critical in the formation of American attitudes and subsequent political actions.

Television journalists must be entertaining and highly visual. Stories are trimmed to support film and visual elements; television is afraid of being dull. Because of the media, one is obligated to write to the pictures, sound bites and rapid-fire visuals rather than in-depth coverage. Emotional responses are the ones the public remembers and help define future reactions, with little perspective and analysis; pictures tell the story. The entire coverage of the war was a race for ratings, personalities and scoops, rather than for citizen information, analysis and understanding.

In addition, television was sensitive to public opinion. Journalists' questions were hostile and were skeptical of government projections of casualties, but as it became clear that the public supported the war effort, the coverage shifted to a kind of national celebration. Viewers of television were more supportive of the war, but less likely to be well informed of its history, causes, or consequences. Television offered a great deal of speculation and interpretation as opposed to documentation and in-depth background. News coverage favored flashy technology while ignoring the dehumanization of a stereotyped enemy. We saw smart-bombs, stealth airplanes, confident troops, we never saw Iraqi dead. The war appeared sanitary (surgical) safe, and not terribly costly in personnel or material. As the military supplied the news that came out of the gulf through videotapes and briefings, the military used the press to promulgate its own policies and spread disinformation. In some cases the military released so much trivial information that the press could not keep up. This disoriented the public and defused opposition.

The American public has the right to know and judge about the political and military wisdom. The military will impose strict ground rules on press activities. Short wars depend upon surprise, a tactical advantage that the military is unlikely to risk even with selected reporters. The press will continue to learn of military initiatives after they have begun. The advantage the military has recedes as time passes. Distance is increasingly irrelevant to news gatherers, who will find it easier in the future to

establish phone, fax and video links when they are reporting from remote areas.

In 1991 CNN had access to 55 million U.S. homes and 10 million outside of U.S. in 105 countries. The internationalization of the news business--typified in television by CNN's acceptance in foreign capitals, and its use of reports by foreign journalists--represents the progressive irrelevance of national boundaries in the flow of information. Saddam Hussein watched the war on CNN. Iraqi officials delayed press conferences until CNN reporters arrived. CNN enjoyed special treatment and access to Iraqi officials, events and city locations. Peter Arnett became the world's window on Iraq.

Student Questions

Should the media use modern telecommunications in the next war?

If satellite telephones are permitted during the next war, what might be the result?

READING 24C: Television as an International Actor

The Gulf War firmly established television as an important actor in international politics. With the emergence of live global broadcasts, television operates in international politics on several levels: 1) it opens the door to private organizations, such as Amnesty International and ethnic interest groups to influence foreign policy; 2) it speeds up decision making, reducing time for both analysis and delay in policy making; 3) it dilutes the secrecy in diplomacy by giving every party in a specific set of talks a way to instantaneously communicate their version of the other side's offers; 4) it sometimes introduces and popularizes multinational issues into a largely bilateral foreign policy agenda.

Most importantly, television is a tool routinely used by foreign ministries to develop and implement their policies, a use uncharacteristically visible during the Gulf Crisis. In doing so they can often level a diplomatic playing field because television is a tool that can be employed as well by a poor country with skill and cunning as by a rich one with technology and power.

But television is not neutral--it has its own agendas. During the Gulf War and other crises, television anchors assumed the mantle of quasi-diplomats, a practice which became embarrassingly obvious when *Nightline* anchor Ted Koppel used "we" several times to refer to the U.S. government. Television discussion shows on CNN, the American broadcast networks, and on many European national news programs took television's quasi-diplomatic role for granted and debated its implications without questioning its existence.

A diplomatic status of any kind assumes a position or an alignment, an uncomfortable place for American news organizations that pride themselves on "balance" and "objectivity." Balance and objectivity went out the window quickly as American television organizations sensed opportunities inherent in "supporting our men and women in the desert" and the dangers in looking too closely at the lack of rationale for a popular war promoted by a popular President. The result was a clear diplomatic alignment within the American and global media.

Adapted from Patrick O'Heffernan, "Sobering Thoughts on Sound Bites Seen 'Round the World," in Bradley S. Greenberg and Walter Gantz, eds. **Desert Storm and the Mass Media**. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc., 1993, pp 19-22.

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Student Questions

How is television a "diplomatic" actor?

Can news organizations be balanced or objective during wartime?

Was television's role in the Gulf War different from the media's role in past wars?

ACTIVITY 25: Summing Up

Introduction

The students and teacher might not realize what has been learned during several connecting lessons. It is important to assess what has been learned. This activity requires the information collected in Activity 7 and Activity 15. It asks the students the same questions as originally asked, and compares their new responses with their first responses.

Student Objectives

- To realize what has been learned.
- To ask students why they have changed their opinions.
- To understand that the questions raised in this curriculum unit have to be regularly asked because the world is rapidly changing.

Time

1 class period

Materials

Information gathered from Activity 7; additional poster paper and markers or a chalkboard

Recommended Procedures

1. Ask the students what their images are of the Gulf War. Write down their answers on poster paper or a chalkboard. Compare these answers with those from Activity 7. Ask the students to consider why the answers differ.
2. On a new sheet, write at the top, *The Role of Reporters during Wartime*. Ask the students to consider:

   What the role of reporters should be during war.

   The Gulf War was very short in duration. What would have happened if the war had been much longer?

   What would have happened if there had been many more U.S. casualties?

   If the war had lasted for years and had been extremely costly, should the press and media criticize the war efforts?

Should the press and media always support the national war efforts?

Under what conditions (if any) should the press criticize war efforts?

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